

BULLETIN OF  
THE JOHN RYLANDS  
LIBRARY  
MANCHESTER

EDITED  
BY THE  
LIBRARIAN  
(HENRY GUPPY)

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NOTES AND NEWS.

AS was reported in our last issue Lord Woolton, at that time Minister of Reconstruction, was installed as Chancellor of the University, on the 16th of May, 1945.

THE  
UNIVERSITY  
OF  
MANCHESTER  
1945.

The following items of news relating to the University have been gleaned from the Vice-Chancellor's (Sir John S. B. Stopford) annual statement for the Session 1944-1945.

The office of Chancellor had been vacant since the death of the late Earl of Crawford and Balcarres in 1940, at which date it was considered desirable, because of the war, to defer the choice of a successor, which rests with Convocation, the association of graduates of the University.

Lord Woolton, himself a graduate of Manchester, a native of the city, and an old boy of Manchester Grammar School, is the first graduate of the University to occupy the position of Chancellor.

The ceremony of Installation was conducted by the Vice-Chancellor (Sir John Stopford) with an address of welcome which was full of confidence that the interests of the University are safe in Lord Woolton's hands, and expressed the fervent hope that he may adorn for many years the office to which he had been elected and to which he was that day installed.

Lord Woolton, speaking for the first time as Chancellor of the University of Manchester, said that he took into his keeping the tradition established by his predecessors in office : men like the Devonshires, who have held the service of the State as their paramount duty; Earl Spencer, John Morley, and Lord Crawford and

Balcarres. "I know the value of this University as only its graduate can know it."

In the first place the ceremony in Whitworth Hall was a Manchester tribute to a Manchester man, but it borrowed further significance from the fact that it also marked the conferment upon ten distinguished men and women of the highest honour which the University can bestow, that of the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws (LL.D.).

The following is a list of the recipients of the degree, who were presented to the Chancellor by Professor T. W. Manson with his customary felicity :

JOHN GILBERT WINANT, Ambassador of the United States in Great Britain.

AIR MARSHAL SIR CHARLES PORTAL, Chief of the Air Staff.

LORD CATTO, Governor of the Bank of England.

GEORGE GIBSON, a former President of T.U.C.

DAME MYRA HESS, the distinguished pianist.

JAMES GUNN, portrait painter.

THE COUNTESS OF LIMERICK.

DR. GUY WARMAN, Bishop of Manchester.

SIR WILLIAM JAMESON, Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health and Board of Education.

NORMAN SMITH, Registrar of the University of Manchester.

In acknowledging the honours conferred upon himself and his fellow graduates Mr. Winant spoke shortly but with deep sincerity, and was followed by Air Marshal Sir Charles Portal, who paid a tribute to the universities' contribution, notably in the sphere of scientific research, and he expressed the hope that this war-time collaboration would continue in peace time.

The Vice-Chancellor in his annual statement points out that the past few months have been occupied with the making of arrangements for the transition from war-time conditions to peace and the preparation for the heavy and varied responsibilities which will come upon us in the near future.

Much progress has been made with regard to the "unwinding" process, and it has given general satisfaction to know that this is the last year in which we shall require a fourth term during

the summer months and this year it will only affect the Faculties of Science and Technology. By December we shall have got back to normal except for certain controls governing the admission of students and the complete return of staff.

Although some colleagues, who have been employed in Government departments and industry, have returned in recent months and more are expected in the autumn, the return of those in the Services is uncertain and may be delayed for a considerable time. This, and the great difficulty of finding new members of staff with the necessary qualifications and experience, constitutes our major problem, and for some years shortage of teaching and technical staff will be the limiting factor. A second difficulty is accommodation, since the building programme has been halted for six years and there is little prospect of being allowed to start building for several years. Although the problem of accommodation is serious it does not cause the same anxiety as the problem of staffing.

For the present it is gratifying to know that in each of the next two years, the University Grants Committee will have five millions instead of two millions for allocation.

The Chancellor (Sir John Anderson) has also realised that big building programmes are to be expected and needed and that a large share of the cost will have to be met in the future from the Exchequer.

During the year three Chairs which have been in abeyance have been reconstituted, and three new Chairs have been established : Economic History, Applied Mathematics and Romance Philology, in future to be independent of the Department of French. The new Chairs are Engineering Physics, a full-time Chair in Medicine, and Industrial Health.

The retirement of the Registrar, Dr. Norman Smith, has been received with great regret by everyone, including many old students who have known him as a teacher or administrator. For fifty years he has been intimately associated with the University, and has given outstanding service in many capacities. He will be missed as a wise counsellor, an ideal colleague and a dear friend who was ever ready to give help and valuable guidance.

The degree of Doctor of Laws (*honoris causa*) has been conferred upon the Right Honourable Lord Woolton, of Liverpool, and at the Degree Ceremony on HONORARY DEGREES. 7th July, Honorary Degrees were conferred by the Chancellor, as follows :

*Master of Arts* : Dr. Alexander Altmann ; Abel Prescott Bradshaw ; William Henry Foyster ; Edgar Cuthbert Gates ; Laurence Stephen Lowry ; and Charles Swinglehurst.

*Master of Science* : Louis Charles Arthur Savatard.

It is with deep regret that the deaths of twenty-six graduates and honorary graduates, and benefactors, have been recorded, including : Dr. William Temple, Arch- OBITUARY. bishop of Canterbury ; Dr. W. J. Sedgefield ; Sir Thomas Barlow, Bart. ; Sir Arthur Eddington ; Lord Dawson of Penn ; The Rev. Henry Wheeler Robinson ; Sir Henry J. Wood ; the Right Hon. Baron Rochdale ; Lady McDougall ; and Emeritus Professor Oliver Elton.

A long list of distinctions awarded to members of the University are recorded, including : *Privy Councillor* : Miss Ellen Wilkinson ; *Baronets* : Sir Alfred Webb- DISTINCTIONS. Johnston ; *Knights Bachelor* : Professor James Chadwick ; Dr. A. P. M. Fleming ; Alderman William Walker. Dr. H. J. Fleure has been appointed Professor Emeritus ; Professor T. W. Manson, a Fellow of the British Academy ; Sir Ernest Simon, Chairman of the Advisory Council on Fuel and Power ; the Vice-Chancellor (Sir John Stopford), a member of the Advisory Committee on Medical Education.

Included in the list of annual grants from Local Authorities is one from the Cassel Trustees for the Department of Spanish. The Imperial Chemical Industries GRANTS. Ltd. have made a grant of £300 per annum to be used for assistance of post-graduate research students in the Department of Chemistry. A number of grants have been increased.

Among the gifts made to the University during the present session mention may be made of the following :

Trustees of the Nuffield Foundation : £70,000, BENEFA-  
payable over a period of ten years, for the establish-  
ment of a Professional Department of Industrial Health.

Messrs. Lewis's Limited : The sum of £35,000, under Deed of Covenant, towards the cost of a Hall of Residence for men students, to be called "Woolton Hall" to commemorate the installation of Lord Woolton as Chancellor.

The family of the late Sir Christopher Needham : The gift of his house "Fair Oaks" and the site : suggested by the donors that the house should be used as a Hall of Residence for men students.

The late Sir Christopher Needham : £5000 in augmentation of the Needham Family Fund. A further sum of £15,000, payable on the termination of a life interest.

Leverhulme Trustees : £1500 for research work in the Department of Education of the Deaf.

Mr. Joseph Sunlight : £250 to defray the cost of the forthcoming second edition of *Melillah*.

Sir Simon Marks, Miss Matilda Marks, Mrs. Sacher and Mrs. Blond : £700 a year for seven years for a Lectureship in Medieval and Modern Hebrew.

The total number of students in the several Faculties of the University for the past session was 2749, including 944 women students. In addition to the above were 407 persons attending Evening Classes. NUMBER OF STUDENTS.

At the Degree Ceremony on the 19th of January, 1946, pre-  
sided over by the Vice-Chancellor (Sir John  
Stopford) who remarked that just as the ceremony THE  
in December was almost exclusively for the Faculty UNIVERSITY  
of Medicine so this one to-day is confined to the OF MAN-  
Faculties of Science and Technology. The two CHESTER, 1946.  
Faculties have been much in the news and rightly and for obvious  
reasons received a good deal of publicity during the war and are  
going to have great responsibilities and opportunities in the years

ahead. It is widely recognised to-day that if we are to maintain our position as a nation we need to produce more and better scientists and technologists, to provide improved facilities for research and to procure closer co-operation and better understanding between science and industry. Happily, we in Manchester are doing something to meet each of these three urgent needs.

By expansion of staff and increased accommodation we are doing everything in our power to make possible a larger intake into all our science departments. It is not easy these days to recruit staff with the requisite experience, and in addition accommodation has to be of a temporary and makeshift character since for some years to come we shall not be allowed to erect new buildings. Yet in spite of these difficulties we are planning to take larger numbers immediately and to arrange a progressive increase within the next five to ten years.

Secondly, we have taken steps to expand and improve the facilities for research, and this includes the provision of more post-graduate scholarships and fellowships. In this we have been assisted by the gift in each of the next seven years of eight senior research fellowships by Imperial Chemical Industries Limited and four similar ones by Messrs. Turner & Newall. We hope their excellent example may stimulate others.

And then, thirdly, we believe that the Manchester Joint Research Council, formed a year ago, and composed of representatives of the University and the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, will do much to bring together those who are doing research and those who are applying it. Such co-operation is bound to lead to better understanding and the quicker use of new knowledge by industry.

In connection with what I have been saying I feel that there are two dangers which we must avoid. This great publicity and demand for science and technology must not cause us to neglect the Arts. Surely it must be clearly understood that no real University can exist without a vigorous Faculty of Arts, and I venture to add that the Faculties of Science and Technology would suffer if we neglect the Humanities.

And again, during the war the senior members of University staffs have been so successful and done such outstanding work in

industry and Government Departments that there is a risk that they may be drawn away too much from their primary work now that the war is over. They are selected because of their special ability to teach, to investigate and to train and inspire other research workers. It would be a misfortune, especially at the present time, if they were prevented from giving the major part of their time and energy to the work for which they are most fitted and even chosen.

We regret to announce the death of Dr. A. G. Little, D.Litt., F.B.A., which occurred at Risborough, Sevenoaks, on Monday, the 22nd of October. Andrew George Little, son of the Rector of Risborough, was born in 1863. He was sent to Clifton, where he came under the influence of his friend, Charles Edwin Vaughan, later Professor of English Literature at Cardiff, Newcastle and Leeds. In 1882 he went to Balliol, took Honours Moderations and the Final School of Modern History. Then he went on to Göttingen for a year's study and proceeded to Dresden, where he gained from German masters a proficiency in methods of research which would have been hard to learn in this country. Five years were spent in writing *The Grey Friars in Oxford*, which was published in 1892, and quickly became, as it remains, a classic of university history. This book, though it appeared when he was barely 29 years of age, bears none of the signs of youth. It shows already developed the characteristics which were to mark all his later work. Only those who have worked over the same ground as Dr. Little can realise the extent of his knowledge of Franciscan manuscripts, and how intimate his knowledge had become of the personnel of the English province and with what vivid and sympathetic knowledge he envisaged and could expound the Franciscan mind. To those who knew him in later life we are told, that Dr. Little seemed sometimes, by constant study of the Friars, to have himself grown like them in gentleness, humility and kindly humour.

ANDREW  
GEORGE  
LITTLE.

In 1892 he went to Cardiff, where he taught history at University College, first as lecturer, later as professor. In 1901 he resigned his Chair owing to his wife's ill-health and settled at Sevenoaks.

In 1902 he published a volume containing six lectures on Medieval Wales, and this book was his sole contribution to political history.

In 1904 he was persuaded by his friends Tout and Tait to teach palæography to the little band of researchers Professor Tout was gathering around him in Manchester. He was an admirable teacher and held that post until 1928, visiting the city weekly or fortnightly during term. But his principal work during these years was to found the British School of Franciscan Studies, and to be the editor-in-chief of the volumes which appeared until the society's voluntary demise in 1937. It was the intellectual life and the educational system of the friars that attracted him.

His own contributions were numerous, the latest fruit being the volume which along with Father Pelster he contributed to the Oxford Historical Society, *Oxford Theology and Theologians, A.D. 1282-1304*. This pioneer work brought him into the forefront of European researchers on the Mendicant Orders. To the writer of the notice in the *Manchester Guardian*, to whom the present writer is much indebted, Paul Sabatier once spoke with deep admiration and affection of his immense and fruitful absorption in the subject : " Little was," he said, " anima naturae literarum Franciscana."

He held, at different times, the chairmanship of the Canterbury and York Society, the presidency of the Historical Association, and other positions of importance in the historical world. In 1892 he was elected a Fellow of the British Academy. He received honorary doctorates from Oxford in 1928 and Manchester in 1935.

Little, though a pioneer, was never over-enthusiastic. He wrote much, but his dry wit and rigorous self-criticism kept him ever within the ranks of exact scholars. Yet no one was more sympathetic to young students, and behind the quiet and sometimes fatigued manner there always lurked a sense of fun and adventure. It was his critical power of interpretation and a certain central quality of judgment which, along with a tasteful fastidiousness of method and presentation, gave him his high position among historians. But it often happens that modest

pioneers deprecate the extent of their own discoveries. What that extent was has been amply attested by the Franciscan order and by learned Catholics and Protestants alike throughout Europe who recognised in him a master of religious and intellectual history and in all personal relationships, the most generous colleague and friend.

The magnitude of the celebrations which took place in 1926 at Canterbury to celebrate the 700th anniversary of the arrival of the Friars Minor in this country and the extent of the public interest were witnesses to the success of Dr. Little's work.

In 1904 he published the *Initia operum Latinorum*, which illustrated his familiarity with manuscripts, and remains an essential book for any one using the manuscripts of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Dr. Little was never officially connected with the Rylands Library, but he was a frequent reader, and a valued friend of the institution.

We regret to have to announce the death of the Rev. Dr. George Jackson, the well-known Methodist minister, which occurred at Kirn, Argyllshire, on Monday, the 16th of April, 1945. Dr. Jackson, who had been in failing health for some months, was in his 81st year.

THE  
REV. DR.  
GEORGE  
JACKSON.

George Jackson was born at Grimsby in 1864. He entered the Wesleyan Ministry in 1887 and was a student of Richmond College, London, where he graduated B.A. of London University. His first ministerial appointment was in Edinburgh, where, in 1888, he founded the Edinburgh Wesleyan Mission, which under his leadership was conspicuously successful.

In 1906 he went to Canada as minister of the Timothy Eaton Memorial Church in Toronto and later became professor of the Methodist College, which was associated with Toronto University, but in 1913 he returned to England to become tutor at Didsbury College.

In 1913 he delivered the Fernley Lecture on "The Preacher and the Modern Mind," which like some of his earlier writings disquieted some sections of the church, by what they considered

his advanced thought, and as some claimed his heterodoxy. A motion was tabled at the Wesleyan Conference of 1913, urging that as the publication of the lecture "had caused deep and widespread unrest" Mr. Jackson's appointment to Didsbury should be reconsidered. The question was debated for four hours, and after he had made a vigorous defence he was triumphantly vindicated. With only seven dissentients the conference decided to take no action.

In 1916 his work at Didsbury was interrupted by the war and for three years he was a minister at Brixton Hill, London. He returned to Didsbury as Professor of the English Language, Literature and Bible, and remained there until 1928, when he returned to Grasmere. In 1920 the University of Aberdeen conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

He was closely connected with Manchester, not only through Didsbury College, but in many other ways, exercising his ministry, both by voice and pen. For nearly thirty years he made valued contributions to the *Manchester Guardian*, which he carried on over the initials "G. J." until last year, when his sight failed.

For twenty years, between 1919 and 1939, he was a member of the Council of Governors of the John Rylands Library, and counted his membership as a high honour. When in health, and within reach of Manchester, he seldom missed a meeting.

He was deeply interested in the Manchester and Salford Mission and was a close and admiring friend of its founder, Samuel F. Collier, whose life he wrote.

Dr. Jackson was a true bookman, for he not only loved books but he lived with them and he had a great company upon his shelves mostly of the Victorian Age, for he was an unrepentant admirer of that period.

In the following letter "To the Editor of *The Times*," of the 7th of June, 1945, the Master of the Rolls (Lord Greene) throws some light upon what happened to THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE during the war in Europe, and how that facilities for search are still limited in consequence. We venture to believe that we shall be rendering

THE PUBLIC  
RECORD  
OFFICE.

a service to our readers by giving this information still wider publicity in these pages.

Sir,—This letter has a twofold purpose, to state briefly what happened to the Public Records during the war in Europe and to explain why a long time must elapse before the pre-war service of the Public Record Office is fully available for historians and other searchers. No record in my custody has been damaged by enemy action.

Since September 7, 1940, the Public Record Office was within the area of intensive bombing. On September 19 one of the turrets was removed by a high-explosive bomb; and between that month and the following May the building was continually in danger. About 70 incendiaries fell on the premises, 23 in a single night, and more than once the flames of Fetter Lane illuminated the whole building. In the renewed attack in the early months of 1944 buildings adjacent to the office were damaged by fire, and in July its structure was slightly damaged by the only flying bomb which fell within 60 yards of the building.

The means of dealing with these dangers were three: The staff had received training in the various branches of air raid precaution before the war began and attended classes afterwards. Almost all volunteered for service in three shifts, day and night, and no difficulty was experienced in dealing with incendiary bombs and minor casualties. The layout of the building and the special nature of its contents called for a high standard of training and organisation. No praise can be high enough for the zeal and efficiency with which these duties were performed. The office fire engines were used twice to help in the extinction of adjacent fires.

The more important records were successively evacuated to seven repositories, which included a castle, several mansions, a training college, a poor law building, and a prison, of which the last two best served the purpose. This process began on August 23, 1939, and continued with a few intervals until the end of 1942. The evacuation of so large a mass of documents inevitably took a long time, as it was only by degrees that the necessary accommodation was placed at the disposal of the office. Thirdly, when evacuation had been completed, the records still remaining

at Chancery Lane were concentrated in the basement and the lower floors, which were less dangerous than the higher floors.

These moves in reverse will take a very long time. After the documents still in the building have been replaced in their original strong rooms, some 90,000 cases of records will have to be brought back from the country. Since the larger classes were successively removed down to later dates as additional repositories became available, it will sometimes be necessary to receive consignments from as many as four of these repositories in order to fill a single strong room with its original contents.

It is a comparatively simple process to remove documents from their shelves, put them in containers, and send them to the provinces to be stored in bulk. It is much more difficult to bring them back simultaneously from several repositories, to check the contents of each container, and then replace each single document in its former position.

An additional complication is caused by the fact that there is not room at present for all the evacuated records. Before the war both Chancery Lane and Canterbury Gaol (where modern departmental records were kept) were full, and plans for building were prepared. Many tons of documents have accrued in the ordinary way during the war from the Law Courts and Government offices. Canterbury Gaol is, and is likely to remain, in use as a naval prison, and at present no substitute is assured. None of the seven war-time repositories mentioned above is suitable for this purpose.

In these circumstances it is a cause of great regret to me that I cannot even name a date when the limited facilities now existing can be widely extended. It may even be necessary to close the search room, which has been open to the public since November, 1939, for a short period. It is hoped to reopen the museum, which has not been severely damaged, in the near future.

Yours faithfully,  
GREENE.

Public Record Office,  
Chancery Lane, W.C.2,  
June 7.

In accordance with its policy of furthering co-ordination and co-operation in the preservation of records throughout the country the British Record Association has formed a Publication Section. The Section will not itself publish record material but will provide opportunities for discussion on policies and problems connected with the publication or reproduction of records, endeavouring to bring together those engaged in research upon documents and those concerned with the publication of them. It will also facilitate the exchange of views and information concerning the technicalities of editing and publishing records, and will be available for advice to all who desire it on these matters and on the choice of texts and editors. The honorary secretary of the Section is Mr. R. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster Office, Lancaster Place, Strand, London, W.C.2.

BRITISH  
RECORD  
ASSOCIA-  
TION.

On 29th October, a joint meeting of the Manchester Dante Society and the British-Italian League was held in the library by kind permission of the Librarian. The two Societies had been compelled by various difficulties to suspend their activities during the years of the war. But with the cessation of hostilities, it was felt that an effort should be made to revive them, and this meeting took place with that object in view.

MANCHESTER  
DANTE  
SOCIETY.

The proceedings began with a lecture by Dr. E. F. Jacob, who has lately relinquished the Chair of Mediæval History in the University of Manchester, on the very appropriate theme of "Dante's Conception of Justitia." The Dante Society being without a President, owing to the lamented death of Professor Llewelyn Bullock, the lecture was most suitably presided over by the Librarian, Dr. Guppy. A large and appreciative audience was favoured with a most interesting and illuminating lecture in which the treatment of Dante's symbolism of the eagle was especially successful, and the audience accorded an enthusiastic and well-deserved vote of thanks to Dr. Jacob.

A business meeting of the two Societies followed at which the chair was taken by Professor Donald Atkinson. It was decided, on the proposal of Mr. A. Jucker, himself a Vice-

President of the British-Italian League, that the two Societies should be amalgamated under their joint names. The meeting further resolved that for the time being no President should be elected, and proceeded to appoint an executive committee under the chairmanship of Professor Atkinson, and a Secretary and Treasurer in the persons of Mrs. Burdess and Miss Ayres, instructing it to draw up a programme of further meetings of the Society, which was to include lectures in Italian as well as in English, on subjects calculated to further the objects of both the branches of the Society.

Since this meeting, the Society has held three meetings ; at the first, held in the Whitworth Art Gallery, Mr. Wilmski lectured (with lantern slides) on "Some Italian Paintings of the Early Renaissance" ; at the second, Signor Franzero lectured, at the John Rylands Library (in Italian), on Baretti, Foscolo, and Panizzi ; and at the third, Mr. Procter-Gregg, Reader in Music in the University of Manchester, addressed the Society at the University on "Italian Opera," with musical illustrations. A further series of meetings has been arranged, and information about them and about membership of the Society may be obtained from the Secretary, Miss Ayres, 33 Palatine Road, Northenden.

D. A.

Shakespeare's birthday, which was also St. George's Day, was commemorated at Stratford-on-Avon on the 23rd of April, 1945, in a manner worthy of the occasion by an address from Professor Dover Wilson who is rightly regarded as one of the leading Shakespearean scholars.

SHAKESPEARE'S  
BIRTHDAY.

"The Man of Stratford," said Professor Dover Wilson, "while still under fifty retired. He turned his back upon London, upon his grand friends at Court, upon his fellow-actors and the theatre he had helped to make the best in England. He even gave up, it seemed, all thought of writing more plays—and just came home. To millions of British and American soldiers, longing at the moment to do the same, it would seem natural enough."

"But others of us, who think much of what he called 'the bubble reputation,' find it very hard to understand it. Many

even refuse to believe it, and declare that the plays must have been written by someone else, some lord—it is always a lord—at Court. Those are the snobs who think the son of a shop-keeper and provincial Mayor, who preferred his little country town to London, not fine enough for poetry, or hold it absurd that anyone should count living his own life more interesting than running after success faster and faster until he sink into his grave.

“ If it came to a choice between Stratford and London, could a poet hesitate, even if he had no ties of affection, no Hermione or Perdita, to draw him home? I believe that this simple, passionate homeliness is the true secret of Shakespeare’s unchallenged sway over our imaginations. His poetic genius was the gift of God; but what made him a dramatic poet was his intense interest in life, the ordinary life of ordinary men and women, for what else is Life?

“ Because we feel that he understands and loves the ordinary people better than anyone else who has ever written, he has been crowned as the greatest of all dramatists, with an empire that spreads to wider and wider circles of humanity with every succeeding generation. And, to-day, the man of Stratford stands as one of the unifying forces in a warring world; for he speaks to all nations and all creeds and, from his understanding and compassion, they may learn to understand and have compassion upon one another.”

The Shakespeare Sermon, at Stratford-on-Avon Parish Church, was preached by the vicar (the Rev. Canon Noel Prentice), who said “ Shakespeare was not content to be dazzled by the wondrous glory of his vision, to enjoy alone the interplay of emotions stirred up by his imagination, to chuckle inwardly, alone, at all his quaint conceits, to dream away his plots and let them die within him.

“ Instead, he seized his pen, and wrote and wrote at his desk while the sun was calling out of doors; while the tallow candle or the feeble rushlight ached his glowing eyes; producing, and managing, and directing his actors, as they enraged him with their lack of understanding, and he maddened them with his high desires.

"For, as he wrote and as he directed, his mind was alight with the vision. He was by Avon's bank seeing the drowned Ophelia ; or in the Arden woods, with Silvius and Phoebe and Touchstone and Audrey ; or at the London tavern with Pistol and with Nym. Or he was back in his history books with Greek and Latin authors at school, or at court among the schemers and the climbers, and the heroes and the kings, or even in a more ineffable world than that—amid ghosts, and witches, and fairies, with mad Macbeth, wild Lear, dread Othello, and distraught Princes of Denmark.

"These visions he rescued from the prison of his own mind with the crowbar of his labour, the key of his wit, and the power of his pen, and gave them all to the world's delight, and for the astonishment of mankind.

"Shakespeare was the full and complete man—the practical visionary, the inspired worker. No mere dreamer, no dull plodder, but alive in his brain and, with his hand, simultaneously. Would God that each one of them, along with the legacy of the vision, had received the legacy of the character of Shakespeare—the character of vision and endeavour."

A new step forward towards a national theatre has been taken by the successful merging of the Shakespeare Memorial National Theatre Committee and the ENGLAND'S NATIONAL OLD VIC, as announced by Mr. Oliver Lyttleton, THEATRE Chairman of the new joint council.

This far-sighted amalgamation of the two most important organisations, each of which, for so many years, has been steadily working towards the one goal from different directions and origins, was an essential step to any further progress.

It has been facilitated by the wisdom of the governors of the Old Vic, the enlightened help and advice of the Arts Council, the far-sighted public-spirited offer of the London County Council to the Memorial Theatre Committee to exchange a larger site on the Surrey side of the Thames, close to the river, for the smaller site owned by the Committee in South Kensington, and lastly by the single-minded disinterested agreement of the Memorial Theatre Committee to pool its efforts and put its

resources of about £80,000 at the disposal of the new joint council.

Nothing should now prevent the foundations of the new building being laid within a few years. There is available for the first time an ideal site, large enough for those technical requirements carefully elaborated by the expert hand of Mr. Hartley Granville Barker, large enough to provide the amenities in accommodation and refreshments which are such a conspicuous and attractive feature of the best Continental theatres, but which in congested London are nowhere else obtainable, and lastly we have already in existence the Old Vic Theatre Company, which has proved itself capable and worthy of stepping immediately on the boards of what ought to become the finest theatre in the world.

A joint council, says *The Times*, has been formed under the chairmanship of Mr. Lyttleton. It will seek by public appeal to augment the fund raised in connection with the Tercentenary of Shakespeare's death in 1916 and to demonstrate increasingly, as funds permit, the kind of services which a national company can render to the public at home and abroad.

We shall not appeal in vain to our kinsmen on the other side of the Atlantic for financial help in this great venture, for do they not speak the same language and love the same literature as their kinsmen in the Mother Country, of whom Shakespeare was such a shining example.

It was on Monday, the 21st of January, 1846, that the *Daily News* appeared for the first time when Charles Dickens, from the editorial chair, wrote his first leading article, and we venture to add our own modest tribute of praise and congratulation to the messages which have reached the *News Chronicle* office from all parts of the world.

THE DAILY  
NEWS AND  
CHARLES  
DICKENS.

In 1930 the *Daily News* became the *News Chronicle*, and on the 21st of January, 1946, completed its hundredth year of continuous publication.

Charles Dickens was attracted to the new venture because it was setting out to stir the country into demanding and securing

the Liberal reforms that were the greatest needs of the day, notably the abolition of the Corn Laws, which were causing widespread want by forcing up the price of bread.

The *Daily News* quickly became a force in the busy early Victorian years, and throughout one of the most eventful centuries in human history its influence and prestige grew.

During the time of the Dickens Editorship the circulation of the *Daily News* was 4000, whereas to-day, the circulation of the *News Chronicle* is over a million and a half, and yet the progressive policy and the Liberal standpoint of the paper have not changed throughout the century, and it enters upon its second century as firmly committed as ever to the principles set forth in Dickens's first leading article :

" . . . principles of progress and improvement of education, civil and religious liberty and equal legislative principles, such as its conductors believe the advancing spirit of the times requires, the condition of the country demands, and justice, reason and experience legitimately sanction."

The *Daily News* has absorbed four famous Liberal and Radical newspapers—the *Morning Star*, founded by Cobden and Bright, the *Morning Leader*, the *Westminster Gazette*, and the *Daily Chronicle*, all stalwart fighters for freedom and progress in the battles of the last century, and throughout that period it has never wavered in its policy.

Liberal movements owe much to the *Daily News* and throughout the century it has never wavered in its allegiance to Liberalism and the State.

What better testimony to the continued and unabated popularity of the writer than the constant stream of editions of his works which is daily poured forth by the press.

Charles Dickens was the most famous novelist of the Victorian age, the most popular writer of the nineteenth century, and one of the greatest humanists England has produced.

The story of his career, his start in life under harassing conditions, the brilliant success attending his first attempts at authorship, the manner in which he took the world by storm and retained his grip of the public by the sheer force

of genius, is probably without parallel in the history of literature.

The present year marks the centenary of still another of our great newspapers, *The Guardian*, and in the issue which celebrated the event we are told that it was founded under favourable auspices. "Never, perhaps, in the history of our literature did so many writers of comparable calibre and range unite to establish a comprehensive national culture," is the note upon which the writer of the announcement of the centenary justifiably commemorates the event.

THE READING OF THE PEOPLE IN 1846.

"It was the heyday of the novelist. Dickens was just publishing *Dombey and Son*, *Vanity Fair* was to appear in 1848. Disraeli's *Sybil*, after a big sale, was translated into French in 1846. In that year, also, *The Three Musketeers* was first translated into English. Charlotte Brontë gave us *Jane Eyre* in 1847; in the same year appeared *Wuthering Heights*.

"Mrs. Gaskell published *Mary Barton* in 1848, and Charles Kingsley, *Yeast*. Captain Marryat was still flourishing, and so was Bulwer Lytton. These were the great novelists of those days, but it would be easy to mention others who are still remembered.

"Wordsworth was still Poet Laureate, but Tennyson had published a collection of poems which came out in a new edition nearly every year. Browning's *Bells and Pomegranates* was popular. Dante Gabriel Rossetti had published his first volume in 1843.

"A list of titles will suffice to show that the *Guardian* was born at a time of great intellectual activity. John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*; John Stuart Mill, *Political Economy*; T. B. Macaulay, *Essays*; G. H. Lewes, *The Biographical History of Philosophy*; Thomas de Quincey, *Christianity as an Organ for Political Movement*; W. G. Ward, *The Ideal of a Christian Church*; J. H. Newman, *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*; H. H. Millman, *History of Christianity*; R. W. Emerson, *Essays*; J. A. Froude, *The Nemesis of Faith*; Robert Chambers, *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*; Sir J. P. Kaye-Shuttleworth, *The School in its Relation to the State*."

Presiding at the annual meeting of the Scottish History Society, Dr. G. M. Trevelyan, O.M., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, declared that Roman Britain was only a prelude to the drama of English history. The Romans did not found England as Cæsar founded France. In our history, Roman cities and villas were an alien interlude.

From the close of the first century A.D. until the time of the withdrawal of the legions more than three hundred years later, the social life of the Province of Britain was divided geographically into two parts, civil zones inhabited by a partially Romanised society dwelling in the Midlands, South, and East, and the military zones of the more barbarous and barren mountains in the North and West.

In the civil zone stood the towns and villas which carried Roman civilisation into the countryside. It was a region of peace and safety. In the military zone, on the other hand, an army of occupation, based on fortress towns, patrolled wild Wales and the Pennine moorlands and guarded the Great Wall from the Solway to the Tyne.

*The Times* Jerusalem correspondent reported quite recently that it has just been made known that Stone Age deposits, unparalleled in the Near East, were found THE STONE AGE. at the western foot of Mount Carmel during excavations in the Wadi el Mughara (Valley of the Caves) in 1929-34. The joint expedition of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem and the American School of Prehistoric Research brought to light eight skeletons, four of which were almost complete. They were the remains of inhabitants of Palestine in the Stone Age, and belonged to a race unlike any other prehistoric men.

Thousands of years before Elijah and his servant reached the summit of Mount Carmel these men had tilled the soil there. Agricultural tools unearthed include bone sickles, with grooves for the insertion of flint blades. Most of the handles were carved in the form of animals' heads, and seemed to belong to the class of bone implements often found in Europe in the upper Palæolithic and Mesolithic layers.

The end of the war finds China face-to-face with problems of gigantic dimensions. In a sense these are Chinese problems to be solved by the Chinese themselves. But in this One World of to-day, these problems are also of immediate concern to us. We were all Allies in waging and winning the war. We are leading members of the United Nations. We are also partners in the present struggle to win the peace. I have therefore availed myself of this opportunity which you have so graciously offered to me to outline to you the policies of the Chinese Government and the aspirations of the Chinese people in the fields of foreign and domestic reconstruction in the post-war period.

CHINA'S  
POLICIES  
AND AS-  
PIRATIONS.

China, as you know, was one of the Allies invaded and occupied by the enemy. Taiwan, or Formosa, was under Japanese rule for over half a century, the four north-eastern provinces, collectively known as Manchuria, fourteen years; North China and most of the coastal provinces, eight years. During eight years of savage war, 1,800,000 of our soldiers were killed and another 1,700,000 wounded. Millions of civilians have lost their lives; sometimes whole villages, men, women, and children were massacred. Forty million more have been forced to emigrate into the interior, losing their means of livelihood. Untold damages have been wrought by see-saw battles and terrorist air-raids.

We have made these sacrifices and endured these hardships to win the war. I am proud to say that, in our darkest hours, we have never for a moment wavered in our faith to win.

China was sustained in this epic struggle by the Revolution, the flame of which was kindled by its leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, some sixty years ago. In fact, the dominant tone of Chinese society, to-day, as it has been the past fifty years, is revolution. It is our creed, our aspiration, our criterion, our scheme of values.

When Dr. Sun Yat-sen died in 1925, he left a will to the Chinese people. The first sentence of his will summarises his revolutionary creed: "To fight for the freedom and equality of China."

China during the second half of the nineteenth century was the battleground of rival imperialisms. The so-called Great

Powers of those days were battling against the Chinese and among themselves for territories, concessions and special privileges at the expense of the Chinese. A series of wars were fought and lost, each one of them followed by treaties making further encroachments upon the Chinese national rights.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's purpose was the liberation of China from this sad state of affairs. It meant the abrogation of treaties which encroached upon our sovereignty. It also meant regaining the territories forcefully taken away from us. To the Chinese the war against Japan is in fact a phase of our revolutionary struggle. The Revolution and the war, to us, are but two aspects of the same movement. While we honour our war dead, we also honour those who gave their lives for the Revolution.

Dr. Sun was a democrat—even an old-fashioned democrat. He had studied democracy at work in many countries, principally in the United States, and he was eloquent in its praise. It was he who said that, "freedom is as essential to man as water is to fish." But he also said that individual freedom can only be enjoyed when the native is free. "We must first attain national freedom," he said, "before we can have individual freedom." The people in a colony are slaves, and as such, they can have no freedom.

The above paragraphs are drawn from an Address by Dr. Chen Chik-mai, Counsellor, Chinese Embassy at the Washington Club, 29th November, 1945, as printed in *Contemporary China*, 10th December, 1945.

The plans of the State Publishing House of the U.S.S.R. for 1945 included some most interesting translations from English literature. The list for the present year includes new volumes of Shakespeare, a translation of Byron's *Don Juan*, of Swift's *Satires and Pamphlets* with a commentary, of Fielding's *Joseph Andrews*, and a new translation of Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, the first since the Revolution. Because of demands from libraries and readers there is to be another edition of *The Forsyte Saga*, always a popular book with the Russians, and R. L. Stevenson's essays and his *Inland Voyage* are also on the list. The Russians have

ENGLISH  
BOOKS IN  
RUSSIA.

a curiosity and an eagerness about our life and literature and their Government tries to meet the demand. We, on the other hand, do virtually nothing by way of translating and advertising Russian books. Nor is the paper ration exactly encouraging to the publishers who might be willing to fill this gap. They may look with envy to the Leningrad branch of the State Publishing House which carried on through the siege and intends to complete next year the publishing of the collected works of Shakespeare and Dickens.

"We well know from Dante," said Mr. John Masefield, presiding over the National Book League's annual meeting, "how steep the path is to those who A LONDON  
tread up and down another's stairs. This league BOOK  
has long needed a home of its own from which CENTRE.  
settled policies may be developed and within which special attractions may delight our members." The Poet Laureate was closing the meeting with an appeal for £15,000 for a building fund for the restoration and equipment of one of London's Queen Anne houses, No. 7, Albemarle Street, into which the league will move this month. In the first half of the last century the house was the meeting-place of Grillion's Club, which had Gladstone and Disraeli among the members and was later the home of the Roxburgh Club.

When bomb damage has been repaired it is hoped to turn this into a centre with library and lecture-room for the book writers, publishers, booksellers, and readers whose league was formed a year ago from the National Book Council. It has expanded its membership and its activities during the last twelve months.

Mr. Cordell Hull, former United States Secretary of State, has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, according to the Norwegian News Agency. Mr. Hull was awarded the prize for 1945, the award for 1944 being conferred on the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva for its outstanding work among prisoners of war.

NOBEL  
PEACE  
PRIZE, 1945.

Mr. Cordell Hull, who is 74, was appointed United States Secretary of State in 1933, and retired in November, 1944, owing to ill-health. He has twice been nominated by South American republics for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Sir Alfred Fleming and his associates in the discovery of penicillin are also Nobel Prize winners this year.

Mr. Hull, in expressing gratification at the award to him of the Nobel Peace Prize, said in Washington : " Important as has been the struggle for peace in the past, it must be intensified and broadened if the human race is to be preserved in this new and dangerous atomic age."

By the unanimous vote of the Governors of the Manchester Grammar School Dr. Eric John Francis James, assistant master at Winchester College, has been appointed as successor to Mr. Douglas Miller, the High Master, who relinquished the post in July of last year.

NEW HIGH  
MASTER OF  
M.G.S.

The new High Master, the youngest of the five candidates interviewed, is thirty-six years of age. He was educated at Taunton's School, Southampton, and Queen's College, Oxford, of which he is an Honorary Fellow. He graduated B.A. with first class honours in Chemistry in 1931, and took his M.A. degree and Doctorate of Philosophy in 1933. He has been teaching for twelve years at Winchester.

When Dr. James took up his new appointment in September last, it was as High Master—St. Paul's is the only other school in the country to have a " high " as distinguished from a " head " master—of much the biggest school in England, where last year there were 1384 boys. The appointment is regarded as one of the prizes of the scholastic profession, and we offer our hearty congratulations to Dr. James upon his appointment, coupled with a hearty welcome to Manchester.

Hitherto the High Master of the M.G.S. has been always a classical scholar. Dr. James is a scientist who has done research work at Oxford, but he is a man who also takes a great interest in humane studies.

Dr. James takes up his duties under a new Education Act,

and at a turning point in our social history. We wish him an abounding success in his great post.

We learn that Dr. Luther H. Evans, chief assistant librarian of the Library of Congress, was appointed on the 29th of June as the tenth Librarian of Congress, in **THE LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS.** succession to Dr. Archibald McLeish, having served as acting librarian of Congress, since Dr. McLeish's resignation on the 1st of December, 1944. As one of three recommended for the post by the American Library Association Dr. Evans enters upon his duties assured of the support of the library profession at large. He comes to his new post with signal experience. Besides his customary duties, first as director of the Legislative Reference Service and later as chief assistant librarian, he has served as Acting Librarian of Congress on two occasions during Dr. McLeish's leave of absence in 1942-43, and again upon the latter's resignation in December, 1944.

Dr. Evans is a native Texan, and graduated from the University of Texas, and has held teaching posts in Leland Stanford University, New York University, Dartmouth College and Princeton University.

He was Director of the Historical Records Survey of the Works Progress Administration in 1935, and of the Library of Congress Legislative Reference Service. He was appointed chief assistant librarian in November, 1944.

Dr. Evans may feel proud of his succession in such a line of administrators as Dr. Billings and Dr. Putnam. We wish him success in his great post, in which he has or will have infinite possibilities of service in the administration of the great library in Washington.

Several very interesting lots of manuscripts and printed books were sold in these famous rooms on the 27th of November.

AT  
SOTHEBY'S.

The outstanding item was an autograph memorandum of Mary, Queen of Scots (in French), "written in my prison at Fotheringay, 25th January, 1587," a few days before her execution, which changed hands for £1100.

It recorded the service of her secretary, Gilbert Curle. This manuscript came from the collection of the late Lord Wantage, V.B., as did a letter written by Queen Elizabeth (Kenilworth, 22nd August, 1572) to Charles IX of France, concerning the projected marriage between her and the Duc d'Alençon, which realised £600. Another interesting item was a series of thirty letters from Dr. Johnson to the Rev. Dr. John Taylor, of Ashbourne, which realised £580. A series of sixty letters and notes, written by Charles I to Sir William Hopkins while the king was a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, changed hands for £400, and a collection of 117 letters relating to the Civil War during the years 1642 to 1649, including one from Charles I to his nephew, Prince Rupert, for which £680 was paid. The printed books included a copy of the first volume of J. J. Audubohn's *The Birds of America* which was sold for £1350. The Rylands Library possesses one of two complete sets of this famous bird book, in four volumes, in which certain of the plates were touched up by Audubohn himself.

Another item was, what is described as the only perfect copy recorded in private hands, of the first illustrated edition of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, printed by Joh. and Greg. de Gregorii, Venice, 20th June, 1492, which realised £3400. Of this work the Rylands Library is in possession of an immaculate copy. For a fine tall copy of Dante's *Divina Commedia*, printed by Nicolo di Lorenzo, Florence, 30th August, 1481, with three engravings attributed to Baccio Baldini after designs by Botticelli, £220 was paid. The Rylands copy, is one of two, known to contain twenty of the engravings attributed to Baldini.

The following is a list of the public afternoon lectures (the forty-fourth series) which have been arranged for delivery in the lecture-hall of the Library during the current session, 1945-46 :—

RYLANDS  
PUBLIC  
LECTURES.

Wednesday, 10th October, 1945. "Othello : Melo-drama into Tragedy." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 14th November, 1945. "The Unity of the Old Testament." By Harold Henry Rowley, M.A., D.D.,

Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th December, 1945. "Menander." By T. B. L. Webster, M.A., F.S.A., Hulme Professor of Greek in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 9th January, 1946. "Man and Society in Ancient Sumer." By T. Fish, Ph.D., Special Lecturer in Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 13th February, 1946. "The Life of Jesus : a Survey of the Available Material. (4) The Gospel according to St. Matthew." By T. W. Manson, M.A., D.Litt., D.D., F.B.A., Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 13th March, 1946. "The Cultural Background of Personality." By T. H. Pear, M.A., B.Sc., Professor of Psychology in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 10th April, 1946. "The Period of the Judges and the History of Israel." By Edward Robinson, D.Litt., D.D., Sometime Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester.

The following titles represent a selection of the works added to the shelves of the Library since the publication of our last issue.

ART AND BIBLIOGRAPHY: "CORPUS VASORUM ANTIQUORUM, U.S.A. Fogg Museum and Gallatin Collections by G. H. Chase and M. Z.

Pease." Fasc. 8, 4to; CORRIGAN (A. J.), "A printer and his world," 8vo; FERGUSON (John Alexander), "Bibliography of Australia, vol. 2 : 1831-1838," 8vo; HORNIBROOK (M.) and PETITJEAN (C.), "Catalogue of the engraved portraits by Jean Morin (c. 1590-1650)," 8vo (a new field of enquiry into the works of all early masters who used watermarked papers); HOWE (Ellic), "'The Trade': Passages from the literature of the Printing Craft, 1550-1935, selected by Ellic Howe," 8vo; INDEX SOCIETY, "Short-Title Catalogue of books printed in England . . . and British, American and English books in other countries,

GENERAL  
ACCESSIONS  
TO THE  
LIBRARY.

1641-1700, vol. 1 : A-E," 4to ; JACOBSTHAL (Paul), "Early Celtic Art," 2 vols., 4to ; PARKER (K. T.), "The Drawings of Hans Holbein in the collection of H.M. the King at Windsor Castle (the Phaidon Press)," 8vo ; RÉPERTOIRE de Bibliographie Française, 1501-1930, Fasc. 10 : Armieux-Arthaud, 4to ; ROTHESTEIN (Sir William), "Since Fifty : Men and Memories, 1922-1938. Recollections of Sir W. Rothenstein, vol. 3," 8vo ; SITWELL (Sacheverell), "British artists and craftsmen ; a survey of taste, design and style . . . 1600-1830," 8vo ; TRISTRAM (E. W.), "English medieval wall-painting ; The twelfth century, with a catalogue by E. W. Tristram. Prepared with the assistance of the Courtauld Institute of Art and published on behalf of the Pilgrim Trust," 4to ; THE WINCHESTER BIBLE, "Artists of the Winchester Bible, with 44 reproductions of details from their work, with an introduction by Walter Oakeshott," 8vo ; "WORKS of Art in Italy : Losses and Survivals in the War. I : South of Bologna, compiled from War Office Reports on the preservation and restitution of works of art, etc., in enemy hands," 8vo.

HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY : ALEXANDER (Cyril A.), "Europe : a personal and political survey," 8vo ; ALLEN (Carleton Kemp), "Law and orders. An inquiry into the nature and scope of delegated legislation and executive powers in England," 8vo ; AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY and 18 other American periodicals. Subscriptions for the year 1945, 4to, 8vo ; ANALECTA HIBERNICA, no. 14. "Report on documents relating to the Wardenship of Galway, edited by E. MacLysaght," 8vo ; ANDERSON (Violet), "Canada and the world to-morrow, edited by V. Anderson," 8vo ; ANNUAL REGISTER, edited by M. Epstein (186th issue), 1944, 8vo ; BENTWICH (N.), "Jewish youth comes home ; the story of the youth Aliyah, 1933-1943," 8vo ; BRIERLY (J. L.), "The outlook for International Law," 8vo ; CALHOUN (John C.), "The works of J. Calhoun," 6 vols., New York, 1851-55, 8vo ; ČZECH (Jan) and MELLON (J. E.), "Czechoslovakia. Land of dream and enterprise," 8vo ; CHURCHILL (Winston S.), "The Dawn of Liberation," compiled by Charles Eade, 8vo ; COBBAN (Alfred), "National self-determination. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of

International Affairs," 8vo ; COLES (S. F. A.), "Spain everlasting," 8vo ; "CORPUS Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum. Vol. I : By R. A. S. MacAlister," 8vo ; CURTIS (Lionel), "World war : its cause and cure," 8vo ; DAVIES (Ellis), "The prehistoric and Roman remains of Flintshire," 8vo ; "ENGLAND, Parliamentary Debates : Commons, 405. General Index, 1943-44," 8vo ; EMMISON (F. G.), "Bedfordshire Parish Registers, vol. 29 ; Liddington, Salford and Holcote," 8vo ; ELTON (Lord Godfrey), "Imperial Commonwealth," 8vo ; EPPSTEIN (John), "British Survey Handbooks, 4 : Hungary," 8vo ; EVE (A. S.), "The life and letters of the Rt. Hon. Lord Rutherford," 8vo (the atom and the discoverer of the nucleus) ; EVE (A. S.) and CREASEY (C. H.), "Life and work of John Tyndall : with a chapter on Mountain-eering by Lord Schuster," 8vo ; FROST (Marian), "The early history of Worthing," 8vo ; "THE GLORY that is Greece. Compiled and edited by Hilda Hughes, with a foreword by Sir David Ross," 8vo ; GOMME (A. W.), "A historical commentary on Thucydides, vol. I. Introduction and Commentary on Book 1," 8vo ; GORDON (George S.), "The life of George S. Gordon, 1881-1942, by M. C. G., with an introduction by Lord Halifax," 8vo ; GREEN (O. M.), "The story of China's Revolution," 8vo ; HIES (Philip Hanson), "Bali (once happy isles : the lost splendour of Bali)," 8vo ; HOOK (Sidney), "The Hero in History : a study in limitation and possibility," 8vo ; HOPKIRK (Mary), "Queen Adelaide," 8vo ; HUMMEL (Arthur W.), "Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, 1644-1912, vol. 2 : P-Z," 8vo ; HUNTINGDON (C.), "Mainsprings of Civilization," 8vo ; "ITALY. A companion to Italian studies ; edited by Edmund G. Gardner," 8vo ; KAHLER (Erich), "Man the measure : a new approach to history," 8vo ; KENT RECORDS, "Register of Daniel Rough, Common Clark of Romney, 1353-1380. Transcribed and edited . . . by K. M. E. Murray" (Kent Archaeological Society), 8vo ; LLOYD (Seton), "Twin Rivers : a brief history of Iraq from the earliest times to the present day," 8vo ; LOGAN (Raymond W.), "What the Negro wants. Edited by R. W. Logan," 8vo (a collection of essays on the needs, grievances and ambitions of the American Negro) ; MAILLAND (Pierre), "The English Way," 8vo ; McDUNPHY (Michael), "The President of Ireland : his powers,

functions and duties," 8vo ; McLOUGHLIN (John), "Letters from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, 3 : 1844-46" (Champlin Society), 8vo ; MILLAR (George), "Maquis," 8vo ; MILLER (John C.), "Origins of the American Revolution," 8vo ; MOFFAT (Robert), "The Matabele Journals, 1829-1860, Volume 1 : edited by J. P. R. Wallis" (Government Archives of South Rhodesia)," 8vo ; MORGAN (J. H.), "Assize of Arms. Being the story of the Disarmament of Germany and her Re-armament (1919-1939)," vol. 1, 8vo ; MURPHY (J. T.), "Stalin, with an introduction by Sir S. Cripps," 8vo ; MURRAY (Arthur C.), "Master and Brother : Murrays of Elibank," 8vo ; NATIONAL TRUST, "A record of 50 years' achievement. With an introduction by G. M. Trevelyan. Edited by James Lees-Milne," 8vo ; "The NAZI KULTUR in Poland, by several authors of necessity temporarily anonymous," 8vo ; NORWOOD (Richard), "Journal of R. Norwood, Surveyor of Bermuda, with introductions by W. F. Craven and W. B. Hayward (Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints)," 8vo ; PALMER (Paul), "Denmark. Preface by J. Christmas Möller," 8vo ; PALOCZY-HORVATH (E.), "In Darkest Hungary, with an introduction by Michael Karolyi," 8vo ; PARLIAMENT : "House of Commons : Debates, vol. 409 (13 March-13 April, 1945) ; House of Lords : Debates, session 1944-45 (26 Feb.-18 April, 1945)," 8vo ; POHL (Frederick J.), "Amerigo Vespucci, Pilot Major," 8vo ; POTTER (D. M.), "Lincoln and his party in the secession crisis," 8vo ; POWER (E. E.), "The wool trade in English mediæval history," 8vo ; PURDOM (C. B.), "How should we rebuild London ?" 8vo ; SACHS (Curt), "The rise of music in the ancient world. East and West," 8vo ; SAMUEL (Viscount Herbert), "Memoirs," 8vo ; SCHMITT (Bernadotte E.), "Poland (The United Nations Series)," 8vo ; SCHUYLER (R. Livingstone), "The Fall of the Old Colonial System. A study in British Free Trade, 1770-1870," 8vo ; SEIGNOBOS (Charles), "Histoire sincère de la Nation Française. Essai d'une histoire de l'évolution du peuple français," 8vo ; SETON-WATSON (Hugh), "Eastern Europe between the wars, 1918-1941," 8vo ; SIMON (Sir E. D.), "Rebuilding Britain : a twenty year plan," 8vo ; SOWDON (Lewis), "The South African Union," 8vo ; STARK (Freya), "East is West" (change in the

Arab world), 8vo ; STECHERT (Kurt), "Thrice against England. Translated from the German by E. and C. Paul" (the dominating influence of sea-power in the three great European struggles in which Napoleon and the Germanies of 1914 and 1939 attempted to achieve domination of the world), 8vo ; SUN FO, "China looks forward," 8vo ; TAYLOR (A. J. P.), "The course of German history : a survey of the development of Germany since 1815," 8vo ; TILLEY (Sir J.) and GASELEE (Sir S.), "The Foreign Office. Preface by Sir John Simon," 8vo ; UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE, San Francisco, "The official documents issued by the U.N. Information organisation," 6 vols., 8vo ; UNITED STATES, "The diplomatic correspondence of the U.S. . . . from the signing of the Definitive Treaty of Peace . . . 1783 to the adoption of the Constitution, March 4, 1789. Washington, 1837," 3 vols., 8vo ; "THE UNITED STATES and its place in world affairs, 1918-1943; edited by Allan Nevins and Louis M. Hacker," 8vo ; VAN DER ESSEN (Alfred), "Le Cardinal-Infant, et la politique Européenne de l'Espagne, vol. 1 (1609-1634)," 8vo ; VERAART (J. A.), "Holland, with a preface by G. N. Clark (Cross Road Series)," 8vo ; VERNADSKY (George), "Ancient Russia" (the first of a ten volume history of Russia planned by Professor Vernadsky and Karpovich), 8vo ; WHITLOCKE (Sir Bulstrode), "Memorials of the English Affairs from the supposed Expedition of Brute to this Island to the end of the reign of James I. From the original MS. with some account of his life and writings by William Penn and a preface by James Welwood. London, 1709," folio ; WYNNE (Elisabeth), "The Wynne Diaries (1789-1798), edited by Anne Fremantle, 3 vols., 1935-1940," 8vo.

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Mrs. Winifred Clarke, of Buxton, who takes a great interest in the library, has generously made a second contribution of fifty guineas to a fund for the extension of the John Rylands Library Building, in memory of her husband, Harold Clarke, lately deceased.

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We shall take the opportunity, when times are more normal, to refer to the subject again, but in the meantime should any of our readers or their friends feel moved to communicate with us as to the needs of the library we shall be pleased to enter into correspondence with them, and to furnish them with any information they may desire.

## THE CHARACTER OF THE GOSPEL-RECORD.

By C. J. CADOUX, M.A., D.D., D.LITT.

**H**OW far is it possible and feasible to derive from the Gospels a factually reliable account of the character and ministry of Jesus? How far is it even allowable to try to do so?

All serious students now agree that real historical events do lie, at least to some extent, behind the Gospels. These documents, therefore, whatever their peculiar features may be found to be, fall within the broad category of historical literature; and as such they are patient of the same treatment as we have to accord to narrative literature generally.

Now I submit that the *primary* task facing the student of narrative literature is that of determining its historical trustworthiness, of ascertaining, that is, how far its statements correspond (in such ways as language *can* correspond)<sup>1</sup> to the events they purport to record. This is not, indeed, the historian's *only* concern: he has also to select, and present, and interpret. But since Von Ranke wrote, the determination of credibility has been recognized as the primary requirement of good historical work: whatever other virtues a written history may show, if it states things to have occurred which did not occur, it is of inferior value as history. As regards the record of Jesus, the late Canon R. C. Moberly formulated the principle for all time, when he wrote in *Lux Mundi*:

Councils, we admit, and Creeds, cannot go behind, but must wholly rest upon the history of our Lord Jesus Christ.

One hardly needs to quote further authorities: let me confine myself to a couple of quotations from two eminent modern scholars.

Paul's description of his preaching to the Galatians . . . indicates what the character of preaching at its centre must always be: it is a re-presentation of the history of Jesus: it is designed to place the hearers in the very presence of the historical event, and so to expose them to the power of God which worked in that event.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As Prue Sarn is made to say in Mary Webb's *Precious Bane*, "words be hard to find for some things".

<sup>2</sup> C. H. Dodd, *History and the Gospel* (1938), p. 163.

If God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, . . . then it is of vital importance to us to know as fully and as accurately as we can what manner of life and death it is in which God acts in this way. This is not an easy task, and there are, and always will be, temptations to take short cuts: . . . I should say that to take refuge in the dogmatic formulæ of the past, however venerable, is simply to give up the theological task.<sup>1</sup>

There is indeed a strong tendency at work to-day running contrary to this natural and normal demand for the historical facts—a recoil from “Historismus”, as it is called. It seems to spring from dissatisfaction with the way in which certain liberal scholars had been doing their work, and a fear lest, through the rejection of certain non-primitive doctrinal elements in the narrative, permanently precious phases of the Gospel-story may be lost. In the opening pages of his *History and the Gospel*, Dr. C. H. Dodd rather strangely welcomes this shift of emphasis as salutary and invigorating. Yet that he does not really mean thereby to discourage a serious quest for the actual facts is clear from what he says in the immediate sequel.

The Gospels profess to tell us what happened. They do not, it is true, set out to gratify a purely historical curiosity about past events, but they do set out to nurture faith upon the testimony to such events. It remains, therefore, a question of acute interest to the Christian theologian, whether their testimony is in fact true. No insistence upon the religious character of the Gospels, or the transcendent nature of the revelation which they contain, can make that question irrelevant. . . . This [viz. the need of examining the events] at once raises the whole problem of the historicity of the Gospels, . . . ; and that problem cannot be set aside by assertions that the Gospels are not historical but religious documents. They are both, if the Christian assumptions are true.<sup>2</sup>

The grounds for pronouncing any particular narrative historically credible rarely, if ever, amount to actual demonstration, such as we have in mathematical theorems: but they are often quite strong enough to justify belief and to render incredulity absurd. From that high grade they shade off through an infinite number of lesser stages of probability, until the levels of the improbable, the barely possible, and finally the inconceivable are successively reached.

Long years of research and discussion have familiarized us with certain standards of historical judgment which are now

<sup>1</sup> T. W. Manson, in *The Interpretation of the Bible* (1944), p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> C. H. Dodd, *History and the Gospel*, pp. 15, 38.

commonly accepted as trustworthy. These are not of a rule-of-thumb description, and they require us to recognize a fairly wide margin of debatable uncertainties. Yet they permit of a large field of actual or virtual unanimity. We may instance the recent study of Old Testament history as aptly illustrating the fruitful use of these canons and standards of judgment. While, owing to the character of the records, much remains obscure, it is safe to say that what is now called "the historical view" of the Old Testament has come to stay, and that no history of the Hebrews which discards the principles of that view, and goes back to a traditionalist or fundamentalist basis, has the slightest chance of being accepted by those who really understand the conditions of the inquiry.

In enumerating the conditions of our being able to reach historical credibility, we may begin by taking for granted as obvious the technical equipment of the investigator himself. Clearly he must have an adequate knowledge of the relevant material and of the methods of assessing the value of historical evidence. But what more?

I. Firstly, the investigator must be an open-minded, sincere, truth-loving, and reverent man, with as little as possible in the way of mental eccentricity.

But here we are faced at once with a complication. There are those who insist that your student of the Gospels must also be "a believer": otherwise he may see no more in the Gospel-story than Tacitus saw—nothing more, for example, in the redeeming death of Christ than the execution of an unpopular Galilæan agitator. No such thing exists, it is urged, as a bare fact apart from any interpretation: our only materials are facts in which a certain interpretation already inheres: if, therefore, we do not accept along with the factual substratum the interpretation given to it by those concerned to record it, if we presume to segregate the "bare fact" and give it a different interpretation of our own, we are acting *ultra vires*, and the truth is not in us.

I know of no one who has written more strongly in this sense than Dr. C. H. Dodd. Thus:

In the world as we know it the outward and the inward, occurrence and meaning, are inseparably united in the event...the events of history do not exist as such

apart from their significance to those who experienced them, and this significance is inherent in them.<sup>1</sup>

Either the interpretation through which the facts are presented was imposed upon them mistakenly—and in that case few facts remain which we can regard as strictly ascertained—or the interpretation was imposed by the facts themselves, as they were experienced in an historical situation, and gave rise to historical consequences—and in that case we do know, in the main, what the facts were.<sup>2</sup>

I have done my best not to misunderstand Dr. Dodd: but I can only say that, if he is really contending that, in dealing with the Gospels, we cannot get to any bare facts unless we accept the interpretation given to them by the evangelists, I must needs regard that contention as wholly untenable. True, some "interpretation" (in a psychological sense) is involved in every simple perception, and therefore in the narration of every occurrence: but it is clearly not in this sense that we are using the term when we speak of "history and interpretation in the Gospels". We then mean more than the transmission of a perceptible event occurring in space and time: we mean the unfolding of that event's ultimate significance. To maintain that we cannot discern the event unless we accept along with it the interpretation given to it by its reporters, appears to me to be palpably false. It flouts the basic principle of all normal historical study, which makes it its first business to get at the facts, irrespective of the way the sources interpret them. It was only by doing this, as Dr. Dodd himself plainly admits elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> that scholars succeeded as they have done in Synoptic criticism. In *History and the Gospel* he tells us that his method

by analysis . . . discovers certain groupings and forms of material, and in each of them it recognizes a central and a peripheral element, a nucleus of firm tradition and a penumbra of secondary value.

On several occasions he specifies the particular items which "preserved a memory of the facts".<sup>4</sup> A large part of his important book, *The Parables of the Kingdom* (1936), is taken up with attempts to disentangle what Jesus really said and meant from

<sup>1</sup> *History and the Gospel*, pp. 28 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 110; cf. pp. 30, 36, 103 f., *The Present Task in New Testament Studies* (1936), p. 38 ("Nor again does an idea necessarily remain true if it is disengaged from a context with which it forms a living whole").

<sup>3</sup> *The Present Task in New Testament Studies*, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *History and the Gospel*, pp. 104 and 71.

what Dr. Dodd believes was the very different interpretation put upon his utterances by the evangelists and their contemporaries. But what is this but that very segregation of bare fact from the interpretation of it which elsewhere he declares to be unwarranted? The necessity of such segregation seems to me to be obvious. How else are we to deal, for instance, with the Parable of the Vinedressers in Matt. xx. 1-16, the utterance of which as a "bare fact" is truthfully recorded, but of the real meaning of which the evangelist was clearly quite ignorant. The baptism of Jesus at the hands of John the Baptist is again a "bare fact" in this sense: the Gospels give no interpretation of it beyond the meaningless gloss in Matt. iii. 15 that it was "to fulfil all righteousness".<sup>1</sup> The Gospels abound in such records of incidents and sayings.<sup>2</sup> The fear lest, by delving for the "bare facts" we may get no more out of the Gospel-story than Tacitus got is groundless, for Tacitus was not a competent and truth-loving inquirer within the meaning of the act. Doubtless the historian must carefully attend to the primitive interpretations of his factual findings: doubtless also, when as a theologian he arrives at his own interpretative conclusions, these latter will—in the measure of his sureness of them—take their place for him among the "facts" on which they have been based. But as interpretations they are, even for him, and still more for others, logically secondary to the historical data.

I find myself therefore compelled to insist on the legitimacy of distinguishing the "bare facts" of the Gospel-story from even the earliest doctrinal interpretations of them; and I hold that it is sufficient, for purposes of historical study, that the investigator should be an intelligent and sincere lover of the truth, and not necessary that he should hold in advance any high traditional Christology.

<sup>1</sup> The Bishop of Derby's tacit assumption that Jesus as Messiah accepted and submitted to the baptism of repentance "on behalf of God's people" (*Christ in the Gospels* [1944], p. 27) is an interpretation which is simply read into the story. There is no direct support for it in the Gospels: and its casual affirmation in a book purporting to be loyal to critical principles is remarkable.

<sup>2</sup> The two Dr. Mansons concur in the judgment that, as regards the traditions about Jesus, the Church remembered better than it understood (*Jesus the Messiah* [1943], p. 14; *Journ. of Theol. Stud.*, July-Oct., 1944, p. 215).

II. The investigator must have access to sources written by persons who, through date, provenance, and otherwise, were in a position to know the facts reasonably well.

In this respect, the student of the Gospels is favourably placed. Nearly all scholars agree that the earliest of our extant Gospels, that of Mark (which is used in the composition of Luke and Matthew), was written a few years before or after A.D. 70, in all probability at Rome. An unnamed Christian Elder stated about A.D. 100 that Mark had been Peter's interpreter, and had written correctly, though not in order, the words and deeds of Christ. Papias, bishop of Hierapolis (about A.D. 120), adds on his own account that Mark got his materials by remembering Peter's occasional teachings, and faithfully adhered to them. It is obvious that Papias and the Elder are identifying the evangelist with the John Mark mentioned in the New Testament; and although there are a number of puzzling features in his Gospel (showing that there were limitations to his knowledge, and that when he wrote he was no longer by Peter's side), I cannot see that they constitute the slightest ground for rejecting what Papias and the Elder tell us. If, as Dr. R. H. Lightfoot has suggested, this Papian tradition is apologetic in origin,<sup>1</sup> one wonders why the Gospel was not ascribed to Peter straight away, as was an apocryphal Gospel written within Papias's time. On the other hand, if it is broadly true, it means that in the Marcan Gospel we are carried back to the memory of one who was Jesus' closest companion during his ministry. Even Dr. Lightfoot, sceptical as he is regarding much of its contents, recognizes that "it is possible that this gospel, rightly used, can tell us a very large part of all that we need to know about our Lord";<sup>2</sup> and ever and anon he mentions points where it seems to him historically trustworthy.

Papias also tells us, probably again quoting an authority earlier than himself, that "Matthew compiled the Logia in the Hebrew language, . . ." While many scholars have followed the late Dr. B. W. Bacon in regarding this as an inaccurate allusion to the canonical Gospel of Matthew, I hold with Dr.

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Lightfoot, *History and Interpretation in the Gospels* (1935), pp. xii, n. 1, and 28 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xv.

T. W. Manson that it is more probably an accurate allusion to the collection of sayings usually known as Q.<sup>1</sup> If this be true, we are brought into contact with yet another apostolic eye-witness.

In view of Dr. T. W. Manson's recent article in this BULLETIN (December, 1944), I do not need to comment specially on the Gospel of Luke: but I would submit that in the light of the facts the Synoptic Gospels constitute a fairly strong body of literary witnesses. Very many events of ancient history are confidently accepted by modern scholars on evidence far less early and direct than we have for the words and works of Jesus. If the sources of our knowledge of Alexander the Great, for example, were as good as those we possess of Jesus of Nazareth, we should, as historians, count ourselves lucky.

III. But our investigator's informants must not only have been in a position to know the facts reasonably well, but they must also have had the intelligence, willingness, and capacity to report them accurately to their readers. How do we stand in this respect with the Gospels? How far have the special interests and limitations of the evangelists interfered with the historical trustworthiness of their reports? Some such interference is almost inevitably present even in the best histories that have ever been written. In selecting, connecting-up, and presenting his matter, the narrator necessarily introduces some qualifying factors of his own. As Thackeray says in *The Newcomes*,

The writer of the book . . . dresses up the narrative in his own way; . . . And, as is the case with the most orthodox histories, the writer's own guesses or conjectures are printed in exactly the same type as the most ascertained patent facts. . . . You tell your tales as you can, and state the facts as you think they must have been. . . .

The modern historian cannot altogether avoid a measure of subjective interference of this sort, though he does his best to limit it, and at least to keep it distinct from what he derives directly from his sources. But the further back we go in time, the less scruple we observe to have been felt in drawing up narratives of the past. Even Thucydides, the most scientific of ancient historians, used no references or footnotes, and felt free to put speeches of his own composition into the mouths of

<sup>1</sup> C. J. Cadoux in *The London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, July, 1933, pp. 303-308; T. W. Manson in *The Mission and Message of Jesus* (1937), pp. 308-312.

historical characters. Other ancient historians were far less scrupulous still. The Jewish mind seems to have been much more willing even than the Greek to falsify facts in the interests of edification. The pious romancing of the Priestly Code and of the Books of Chronicles furnishes abundant testimony to this effect.

No one can doubt that a considerable amount of this subjective manipulation and embroidering of the tradition has taken place in the structure of the Gospels. The inherent probability of that follows from the oft-mentioned fact that the primary purpose of their composition was religious rather than historical or biographical. The probability is seen to be a certainty when we study the differences between one Gospel-document and another. Nothing, for instance, could be clearer than the unhistorical character of most of the changes made by the Matthæan evangelist in the tradition he takes over from Mark. And in the light of these, we can speak with almost equal confidence of some of his divergences from Luke, where both are using Q—as, for instance, when in Matt. xii. 40 he turns the sign of Jonah into an edifying Old Testament forecast of Jesus' detention in his tomb (contrast Lk. xi. 30). Even Mark, our oldest extant Gospel, is not wholly free from the same doctrinal feature—as Dr. Lightfoot has abundantly shown in his Bampton Lectures. It is, for instance, highly unlikely that Jesus ever uttered the words, ὅτι Χριστοῦ ἐστέ, ascribed to him in Mark ix. 41. Whatever we may make of the darkness reported by Mark to have occurred when Jesus was on the cross, the rending of the Temple-curtain (Mark xv. 38) is almost certainly symbolic or parabolic—as also is the blasting of the fig-tree (Mark xi. 13 f., 20). Form-criticism has encouraged scholars to suppose an ever-increasing amount of doctrinal interference with the tradition, and has correspondingly discouraged them from trusting in the historical reliability of any particular part of the record. So far has this process gone that it is now contended that we have *no* means of determining which sayings ascribed to Jesus are probably genuine, which spurious, which early, and which late. Dr. Lightfoot concludes his Bampton Lecture with the words :

It seems, then, that the form of the earthly no less than of the heavenly Christ is for the most part hidden from us. For all the inestimable value of the Gospels,

they yield us little more than a whisper of his voice ; we trace in them but the outskirts of his ways.

Now I submit that this latter-day scepticism as regards the historical element in the Gospels and our capacity to delimit it is a needless exaggeration. It seems to me inherently unreasonable to assume that we can probe back to an early Christian tradition, but to pronounce the attempt to probe back to its sources to be *ultra vires*. I know of no analogy for so arbitrary a blocking of the way, and many analogies against it. The Books of Samuel and Kings, for instance, were, like the Gospels, written primarily with a religious rather than with an historical object ; they are permeated throughout with doctrinal interpretations. Yet who seriously doubts that a genuine history of Israel during the period of the monarchy can be constructed from them ? Similarly in the case of certain eminent saints—Polycarp of Smyrna and Francis of Assisi, for instance. Their biographies can up to a certain point be reconstructed by means of the critical examination of the sources, despite the fact that these latter are all affected by the devotional extravagance of their writers.

In the case of the Gospels, however much the evangelists' idea of historical accuracy may have differed from our own, they would have defeated their own ends had they not at least intended and endeavoured to tell the story of the Lord's life truthfully according to their own literary standards. The clear distinction which Paul draws in I Cor. vii. 10-12, 25, 40 (cf. ix. 14) between the matrimonial and other regulations which he could quote as enjoined by Jesus himself, and those which he could not so quote, is an important indication of the weight which the early Church attached to the possession of an accurate record of his sayings. Over against the fact that even our oldest sources are to some extent affected by doctrine has to be placed (1) the great advantage which the personal links with the Apostles Peter and Matthew give to two of them, and (2) much of the internal evidence. I shall deal with this latter point under my next main heading. Here let me say a word more about the alleged doctrinal and symbolic manipulation of the Synoptic material.

The existence of such manipulation is, as I have said, not to be questioned ; but we need something more than imagination

before we can affirm it to be present in any particular passage. To the care and insight of Dr. R. H. Lightfoot's Bampton Lectures I pay a sincere and emphatic tribute of respect: but in many of his speculations with regard to the Marcan narrative I find myself unable to follow him—as also in his rejection of the customary hypothesis that Luke used a special source for his narrative of the Passion. I find it far harder to believe that Luke altered the Marcan Passion-narrative as freely and arbitrarily as Dr. Lightfoot's theory requires one to suppose, than to accept the account of the Lucan Passion-story provided by Dr. Streeter's Proto-Luke hypothesis. It seems to me arbitrary and needlessly precarious to suppose that, when Luke wrote, the only Passion-narrative extant was that of Mark. And if it was not so, why should not Luke have made use of a non-Marcan version? Dr. Lightfoot tentatively advances the view, "with great reserve and a keen sense of the dangers inherent in this form of exposition", that the stories of the stormy voyage across the lake and the cure of the Gerasene demoniac (Mark iv. 35—v. 20) may be interpreted as a symbolic picture of the conveyance of the Christian Gospel across the sea to the Gentile world. Also, that the story of the cure of the blind man (Mark viii. 22-26) is a symbolic doublet of the account of the revelation of Jesus' Messiahship to the disciples (Mk. viii. 27-30).<sup>1</sup> I can only confess myself entirely unconvinced.

I have myself incurred severe criticism for attempting, in my *Historic Mission of Jesus* (1941), to reconstruct the teaching of Jesus recorded in the Synoptic Gospels on the basis of documentary analysis alone, without availing myself of the theories of the Form-critics.<sup>2</sup> The reason I did so was that I am not convinced that Form-criticism has added materially to our means of knowing what Jesus' life and teaching were like. It has made us more alive than we were to the presence of the Church's hand in moulding her traditions about the Lord. Beyond that I am not prepared to go. And even that was known

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Lightfoot, *History and Interpretation in the Gospels*, pp. 89-91. In the latter case, he prints the text of the two passages side by side to bring out the closeness of the parallels!

<sup>2</sup> E.g., J. Lowe in *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, Jan.-April, 1943, pp. 84-86.

to us in principle from our study of documentary criticism. The principles of Form-criticism are apt to be very arbitrary and precarious. Its main assumption—that stories about Jesus were needed only or mainly for use in mission-preaching—is a pure assumption, and to me an improbable one.<sup>1</sup> Apart from the inherent likelihood that Jesus' friends would treasure memories of him for their own sake, the Gospels contain numerous traditions that would have been quite unsuitable for the purpose of mission-preaching. The characteristics of the Gospel-stories on which Form-criticism bases its classification of them are just as easily and naturally explained on the hypothesis that they are substantially truthful accounts of correctly-remembered incidents, as on the hypothesis that they were shaped—or perhaps created—by some contemporary literary habit. The admitted existence of stories that display the features of more than one "form" is another weakness in the theory. The great Form-critics disagree widely with one another in their conclusions. Speaking generally, the result of Form-criticism is a heightened scepticism, which seems to be unreasonable—in some cases to the point of absurdity.<sup>2</sup> Nor can I find any comfort in the observation that it is the thorough-going Form-critics who are to-day leading the movement back to what is called a theological interpretation of the Gospels.<sup>3</sup>

I plead therefore that we can rely a little more confidently on our documentary analysis than many recent critics are disposed to allow. Much of it rests on clearly objective grounds. For myself, I go further, and whole-heartedly accept the late Dr. Streeter's Proto-Luke theory as more probable than any alternative explanation of the data. Many scholars still reject it: but every time it is attacked Dr. Vincent Taylor comes forward with what appears to me a convincing rejoinder. But even without that theory we may be said to possess a fair knowledge

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also E. F. Scott, *The Validity of the Gospel Record* (1938), p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> For criticism of the Form-critical method see, besides Dr. E. F. Scott's book referred to in the last note, F. J. Badcock in *Expos. Times*, Oct., 1941, pp. 16-20; L. H. Marshall, in *Studies in History and Religion presented to Dr. H. Wheeler Robinson* (1942), pp. 69-86; and W. Manson, *Jesus the Messiah* (1943), pp. 20-32.

<sup>3</sup> J. Lowe in *The Interpretation of the Bible* (1944), p. 122.

of the mutual relations of the documents out of which our Gospels are composed. Legendary touches do not discredit the main story told in a document, especially when (as is often here the case) we can fairly easily spot them. The fact that an exalted view of Jesus as Messiah and Lord is traceable in our earliest documentary strata does not constitute, as so many scholars to-day seem to think it does, a reason why the quest for the historical Jesus can now be regarded as discredited. I fully agree, therefore, with Dr. Dodd when he says

we are comparatively well informed about the situation in general, about the main purport of what Jesus taught, in relation to the thought and problems of the time, about the kind of religion for which He stood, about the nature and causes of the opposition which He encountered, and about the proceedings which led to His death.<sup>1</sup>

If, as is frequently the case, documentary analysis enables us to distinguish fairly confidently between the more and the less original parts of the record, I cannot see why the systematic endeavour to utilize reconstructively the material which has, by comparison, the best claim to be original is necessarily "a relatively fruitless task compared with that of grappling with the Apostolic Gospel".<sup>2</sup>

IV. Finally, our investigator's findings must, if they are to be accepted as credible, form a coherent whole. One clear mark of a true story is that its several parts shall be consistent with one another and also with what we know of nature and reality generally.

If anyone should cry out that such a claim is the *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* of liberalism, which rejects the supernatural on principle and will make no proper allowance for the grand miracle of the Incarnation, I should reply that it is only because this claim *has* been allowed that we have been able to vindicate the historical reality of Jesus against the Christ-myth theory, to recognize in Mark the earliest of the Synoptic Gospels, to agree on the fictitious character of the more obvious Matthæan glosses on the Marcan record, and to carry on any fruitful discussion of Form-criticism or of the Apostolic tradition. If we may not rely on

<sup>1</sup> C. H. Dodd, *History and the Gospel*, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> J. Lowe in *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, Jan.-April, 1943, p. 85.

the inner coherence of reality as a whole, then it is no use our arguing for any view as against any other view on any historical question whatever.

If, however, this test of coherence be allowed, then—I venture to think—it supports the conclusions to which the foregoing discussion has been leading us. It is quite impossible to account satisfactorily for the existence of the Synoptic Gospels without inferring at least the broad accuracy of their version of Jesus' ministry and teaching. The parables, for the most part, could have come from no lips but his. It is incredible that he could have enjoyed the towering ascendancy he did in the minds of his followers, unless the Gospel-record of his having virtually claimed it were true. If we collect and classify all those portions of the Synoptic teaching which have, on documentary grounds, the strongest claim to be considered original, we discover a closely-knit and coherent system of thought, of a marvellous character indeed, yet on the whole fitting well into all the rest that we know of the early Christian movement.

It is, however, particularly in connection with the so-called miraculous element in the story that the application of our canon of truth becomes a matter of controversy. What the claim here amounts to is that the investigators must apply to the miracle-narratives those standards of inherent probability and improbability of which life in general—and science in particular—have put him in possession. This principle used to be understood to mean that no occurrence which could not be fully explained by the experience and science available up to the time of inquiry could ever be accepted as credible, no matter what evidence could be adduced in its favour : and there are still conservative scholars misguided enough to accuse liberalism of being in bondage to that rule. But now that it is realized that good evidence is itself part of our scientific experience of the universe, and that the universe contains mysteries not previously known, that stiff negative rule has been rightly discredited. We must not, however, draw the hasty inference that every appeal to inherent probability in the assessment of a miracle-story can now be confidently disallowed. We have still to remember that fictitious miracle-stories are known to be under certain conditions

easily and plentifully produced ; also that, in proportion as a story is marvellous, so much better will be the evidence we ought to demand before we consent to believe it to be true. Regarding the Gospel-miracles, I wish to observe only that the so-called *Nature-miracles* are both inherently less credible, and are less well attested, than are the healing miracles (there being no trace of them in our earliest material Q and L). The Bishop of Derby, in his valuable Commentary on Mark and in his more recent booklet *Christ in the Gospels*, adopts a non-possumus attitude towards them. We may neither reject them, nor rationalize them—for the queer reason that to do so would be “utterly foreign to the whole spirit of the narrative”. And yet, the Bishop grants, we cannot accept them as they stand. This seems to me to be an arbitrary and feeble attitude, which would never be seriously recommended if we were studying the martyrdom of Polycarp, the stigmata of Francis, or indeed any miracle-story outside the four canonical Gospels. Whether we like it or not, we are compelled either to attempt a rational theory about each incident on its merits, and to frame our version of Jesus’ ministry accordingly, or else simply to evade the task of picturing the ministry at all.<sup>1</sup>

Thus far I have for the sake of simplicity drawn all my illustrations from the Synoptic Gospels. Perhaps I may be allowed before I close to say briefly how I regard the Fourth Gospel, though, under stress of the present-day trends in Gospel-criticism, many scholars seem to have lost all interest in the question of its historicity. It is generally admitted that this Gospel is the most theological of the four. It is thus in a certain sense the least historical. Its discourses cannot, in my judgment, be regarded as reports of what Jesus and others actually said,

<sup>1</sup> Some modern conservatives allow themselves to caricature critical operations in a very wrong-headed way, forgetting that without critical presuppositions the very conclusions they themselves accept could never have been arrived at. Thus, Professor R. V. G. Tasker, *The Nature and Purpose of the Gospels* (1944), p. 32, writes : “The idea so popular amongst earlier ‘higher critics’ that we can sit in judgment on this [Markan] narrative, and in the light of our modern insight and knowledge pick out parts of it which are congenial to the modern mind, and regard them as historical and primary, and reject others as unhistorical and later accretions, is an idea which is increasingly seen to be impossible, once the true character of the document is understood”.

even in that qualified sense in which the Synoptic discourses can be so treated. This judgment rests upon three facts :—

(1) they differ widely, both in language and subject-matter, from the discourses in the Synoptics ; and, if we have to choose between them, the Synoptic discourses are clearly the more historical :

(2) they are indistinguishable, both in language and subject-matter, from those portions of the Fourth Gospel which clearly represent the mind and hand of the Fourth Evangelist himself :

(3) they represent Jesus as speaking openly about his Messiahship from the very beginning of his ministry, whereas Mark, with far greater verisimilitude, represents him as keeping it a close secret till Peter's confession at Cæsarea-Philippi, and as hardly ever using even the term "the Son of Man" before that.

When, therefore, the late Sir Edwyn Hoskyns asks about the Fourth Evangelist, "Is what he says so different from what Mark had said or from what is involved in the whole material which composed the earlier Tradition?"<sup>1</sup> it is only with serious qualifications that we can concur in the clearly-expected negative answer. Over against the deeper theological interpretation in the Fourth Gospel, must be set its virtual abandonment (presumably as of minor interest) of some of the noblest and divinest ethical traits visible in the Synoptic portrait.<sup>2</sup> Mr. W. L. Knox observes that there are moments when the evangelist "comes dangerously near to presenting Jesus as a purely docetic epiphany on the stage of history".<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, I do not believe that this strong interpretative interest on the writer's part, which has so controlled his discourse-material, has affected in like measure the chronological, the topographical, and the narrative portions of his story. There are, for instance, strong grounds for believing that, in regard to the date of the crucifixion, he is in the right as against Mark : and I cannot see any ulterior purpose in his chronological scheme which could throw serious

<sup>1</sup> Hoskyns and Davey, *The Riddle of the New Testament* (1931), p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. C. J. Cadoux, *A Pilgrim's Further Progress* (1943), p. 44; Mary E. Andrews, in *The Journ. of Religion*, April, 1944, pp. 135 f.

<sup>3</sup> W. L. Knox, *Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity* (1944), pp. 89 f.

doubt on its substantial accuracy. So far as narrative is concerned I believe with Mr. W. L. Knox that he never loses sight of the concrete historical figure.<sup>1</sup>

In conclusion, let me say that, while the task of interpretation cannot wait until the historical investigation is complete,<sup>2</sup> while the two must go on concurrently, and while they will inevitably affect each other, I hold that the historical problems are logically prior to those of interpretation, just as seeing and hearing Jesus in the flesh—or at least hearing facts about him—was in the first century logically and inevitably prior to becoming his disciple. “How shall they believe in him whom they have not heard?” (Rom. x. 14). Much of the modern revolt against the quest for the historical Jesus arises from the fear that it is bound to lead to a non-supernatural, or as it is called a “purely human”, Jesus. But why should it? In our oldest Gospel-documents, Jesus is already an exalted figure, speaking in the name of God and as the supreme guide and rightful Lord of men. Any reconstruction which misses that point is so far unhistorical. It is often assumed that that is exactly what liberalism did; and it is therefore confidently stated—by the Bishop of Derby, for example—that the liberal attempts to get behind the various strata of tradition to the real Jesus have “broken down”.<sup>3</sup> That charge may be true of biographies like those of Strauss, Renan, and Guignebert: they are not, I submit, true of liberal scholarship as a whole. But in any case, I should fully agree that, while we must begin with a reconstruction of the historically attested facts, yet for a satisfying Christology we cannot possibly afford to neglect the light which the general witness of the New Testament throws back on Jesus’ life and person. Who is this, we must needs ask, who not only went about doing good, but who brought the Christian Church into being, who won the heart’s love of the persecuting Pharisee Paul, and the memory of whom could prompt the Matthæan evangelist so to torture history in order the better to set forth his glory—and the Johannine

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> C. H. Dodd, *The Present Task in New Testament Studies*, pp. 8 f., 30.

<sup>3</sup> A. E. J. Rawlinson, *Christ in the Gospels* (1944), pp. 9, 114.

evangelist to portray him as the co-eternal Logos of God? Through the historical facts there are now (as there were then), for the docile and the reverent, eternal glories to be seen.

I should not, however, admit that this stupendous Gospel, so inseparately linked in the mind of the early Church with the name of Jesus Christ, this unwavering glorification of him as Redeemer and Son of God, has anything at all to fear from the critical analysis and reconstruction of the Gospel-record. In the foregoing pages I have tried to show that such an analytical and reconstructive effort is amply justified from the purely historical point of view. I now close with urging that, so far from imperilling the rightful enthronement of Jesus as our Lord and Saviour, the quest for the historical Jesus is imperatively demanded of us, not only in the moral interests of sheer truthfulness, but as giving back to us that healthful contact with his life on earth which the unhistorical "safeguards" of traditionalism had for so long well-nigh hidden from our eyes.

## A HITHERTO-UNNOTICED BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPT IN THE LIBRARY OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF YORK.

By THE REVEREND F. HARRISON,  
CANON, CHANCELLER AND LIBRARIAN

AT the time of his death, Dr. Vacher Burch was working on several manuscripts, one of which, ms. XVI. D. 2 in the library of the Dean and Chapter of York, he believed to be of value in connexion with Wyclif's opinions and work. Though even if I had the leisure, I am not competent to continue Dr. Burch's research, a recent study which, for a different purpose, I had been making of the Anglo-Saxon, Early and Middle English texts of the Scriptures made it possible for me to bring to the notice of the readers of this BULLETIN, through the kindness and the courtesy of Dr. Guppy, the importance of this hitherto-unnoticed biblical manuscript. I offer this paper as a tribute to the memory of one with whom for many months I worked almost daily, and whom I found to be a stimulating student, a good companion and a loyal friend.

In the year 1925, our library had the honour of a visit from the late Dr. M. R. James, who made a hand-list of our medieval books in manuscript, in number about 90, which, on my appointment as librarian a few months later, he gave to me. In checking this list with the manuscript books, I discovered that he had not noticed ms. XVI. D. 2. I therefore listed it myself, making an analysis of its contents. The importance of it did not then occur to me ; and it was Dr. Burch who suggested that it might be of interest to him in his study of the origins of the opinions of Wyclif. The library contains three other Wycliffite manuscript books : (1) and (2) two copies of Purvey's New Testament,<sup>1</sup> one of which contains the autograph of Queen Elizabeth, and (3) a Lollard commentary on the Ten Commandments, the

<sup>1</sup> MSS. XVI. N. 7 and XVI. O. 2.

Creed and the Lord's Prayer,<sup>1</sup> with other relevant matter. The manuscript which forms the subject of this paper may now be described.

It contains ii + 223<sup>2</sup> + ii folios, each 11½ by 8 inches, written, in two fifty-line columns to a page, probably in one hand throughout. Except for a few folios<sup>3</sup> which, however, are far from being illegible, the handwriting is fresh and clear. There is some simple ornamentation, notably on the first page, on which the opening letter, a capital A, is decorated with red and blue lines drawn with a pen which are continued, as is commonly found, along the upper, the left-hand and the lower margin. The other opening initials of the first words of the remaining Dominical Gospels are similarly, if less elaborately, adorned, and the ornament does not spread to the margins, which throughout are generous, the edges not having been cut in the process of re-binding. As far as f. 38r., the text of the Gospels is written in large letters; after this page, the text is written in letters of the same size as those used for the gloss. Each page has for its heading, in red ink, the title of the Sunday on which the liturgical gospel was appointed to be read or sung; e.g. *Dominica in adventus Domini*, *Dominica infra octauis ephiphanie*, *Dominica in ramis palmarum*, and *Dominica iiiij post pasche*. Omissions from the text, due to less careful copying than is usual, are fairly frequent; they are corrected by means of additions over the text or in the margins, often in a later hand. The number of words in the whole book cannot be much, if any, fewer than 350,000. The text is not quite complete, in a few places one folio at least having been omitted, possibly through being torn out when the book was re-bound. But no portion of the text of the Gospels appears to have suffered.

As is well known to students of medieval books, the attribution of authorship in the title which appears on the binding of a book is by no means always to be trusted. The title of this book, stamped in gilt capital letters on the spine of the plain calf binding, is :

DR. STRADEL ON THE GOSPELS AND PATERNOSTER.

<sup>1</sup> MS. XVI. L. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Only 15 lines in col. 1 of f. 223v.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. 141v., 142r. and v., 146v. and 147r. and v.

On the verso of the second fly-leaf at the beginning of the book, the page, that is, that faces the first page of the text, is the following entry :

Dr. Stradell, D.D. in Oxford and abbot of Dowr<sup>1</sup> wrote homilies upon the pater-noster and upon the whole text of the evangelists. He flourished in the time of Edw. 3. Leland Itin. 8 vol. p. 67.

The quotation and its source are correct, as a reference to Leland proves.<sup>2</sup> The handwriting of this entry is that of Marmaduke Fothergill, a non-juring clergyman, sometime vicar of Skipwith, 10 miles south of York on the York-to-Howden road, and one of the most noteworthy benefactors of this library. In many of his books, Fothergill made copious notes, and it is from these notes that his handwriting can be recognised in this entry.

So far as, up to the time of his death, Dr. Burch had considered the authorship of the manuscript, he had not questioned the accuracy of the title stamped on the binding. He hoped that the book would prove to have been written at *Llanthony secunda* just before the middle of the fourteenth century. In normal times, this provenance and this date might have been proved or disproved by comparison with the handwriting of some amongst the many manuscripts that have survived from the medieval library of this foundation, most of which are in the library of the archbishops of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace.<sup>3</sup> At present, however, it is not possible to make this comparison. The probability of a much later date is so strong that the evidence of the handwriting seems hardly likely to be needed. Dr. Burch's work on the manuscript had not reached the point at which the date appeared to be of importance. To judge from his notes, he had transcribed in full the text of the Gospels contained in it, which are the Dominical Gospels only, having taken great pains to trace to their sources, in manuscript or in print, the contents of the glosses, and to make a *verbatim* transcript of an English translation<sup>4</sup> of *concordia quatuor evangelistarum* compiled from the Vulgate by Clement of Llanthony

<sup>1</sup> Abbot between 1340 and 1361. See Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ed. of 1846, V, 553.

<sup>2</sup> *Itinerary* ed. Hearne, 1710-1713.

<sup>3</sup> N. S. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, pp. 60-62.

<sup>4</sup> From MS. 8 in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough.

*secunda*,<sup>1</sup> who died c. A.D. 1190.<sup>2</sup> These tasks, with others which are not of moment for this paper, occupied Dr. Burch for several months. Not being sufficiently familiar with his exact purpose, I must regard the manuscript which forms the subject-matter of this paper solely in relation to the known Wycliffite texts of the Gospels. For my purpose, I am concerned chiefly with three texts besides the one under examination, namely, Wyclif's and Purvey's translations of the Gospels, and the English translation of Clement's *unus ex quatuor*. The last-named of these texts was one of the best known in the middle ages. Even in the original Latin it was copied<sup>3</sup> and summarised, and it is known that copies found places in the monastic libraries of Canterbury (Christ Church) and Durham. It would have been a natural thing for Lollard scholars to translate into English a version so well known as this; indeed, it would have been strange had they not turned their minds to the task.<sup>4</sup>

Before turning to this discussion, it will be found interesting to have a record of other entries on fly-leaf ii, v., of the York manuscript. One runs :

LIBER OLMERI GODFRAY SACRE THEOLOGIE BACULARII EX DONO  
VENERABILIS PATRIS DOMINI WILLELMI WARHAM CANTUARIENSIS  
ARCHIEPISCOPI.

(in a hand of the first half of the sixteenth century). Two others run :

OMELIA DE DIVERSIBUS TRACTATIBUS.  
OMELIA DOCTORUM IN LINGUA ANGLICANA.

There follows a list of authors whose glosses were freely drawn upon by the compiler of the notes. These include Alcuin, Anselm, Athanasius, Augustine, Bernard, Basil, Cyprian, Cyril, Chrysostom, Eusebius, Gelasius, Gregory, Grosseteste, Jerome, Isidore, Leo, Lombard, Paris, Rabanus, Scotus and Theophilus.

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale, *op. cit.*, VI, 127.

<sup>2</sup> *D.N.B.* supplement, II, 33.

<sup>3</sup> *D.N.B.*, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> One copy in the B.M. (Royal 17, C. xxxiii) contains the statement : " Clement of Lantonie's Harmony of the Gospels in twelve books, English'd by John Wyclif", *D.N.B.*, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

The contents of the book, therefore, comprise the full text of the Dominical Gospels and copious glosses on individual verses or sections, some from the author himself. It is evident that this is not a copy of the work of Dr. Stradel, Abbot of Dore between 1340 and 1361, which comprised "the whole text of the evangelists" as well as the Paternoster, though the Paternoster is found in this book at the very end.

We turn next to a short notice of Clement of Llanthony's *concordia* as Englished in several surviving texts. In the copy transcribed with great care by Dr. Burch, the text occupies 110 folios, each of which contains an average of 320 words, the total number of words thus being between 30,000 and 35,000. It is this transcript that is freely quoted later in this paper. As doubtless in other copies, so in this, there are entries in the margins which indicate the places in the *concordia* at which the liturgical Gospels for 74 Sundays and holy days in the year occur, probably so that the owner of the copy could follow the Gospel at Mass on any of those days.

The prologue<sup>1</sup> of this book, *a book maad of the foure gospeleris*, recounts how Clement, a priest of the church of Llanthony, gathered all the sentences of the four Gospels into one story. The translator continues :

Thre prefatis ben of this trauel the first for a man may haue redely what thingis ben seid of ech gospeler bi hym silf and whiche thingis ben laft out and whiche ben fore occupied and whiche thingis ben remembred . . . the secunde prefit is this that traeuil schewith acordyng of foure gospeleris. the thridde prefit is this that this traeuil declarith the ordre of thingis doon that herly esier entryng of undurstondyng be opin in to ordre of the gospeleris and that the resoun of ordynaunce of the gospeleris be clereir thus the elde greek doctor aumonyus lefte o book for foure gospelis to the costis of the churche as eusebye witnessith also the elde greek doctor teofile that was fro seyt petre the seuenthe bischop of antioche maad a book of foure gospelis as seyt jerom witnessith in his pistils. also seyt austyn in his book acordyng of the foure gospeleris ghueth bigynnnyng of this werk and schewith the maner of procedyng. . . . Clement settith in the bigynnnyng of a chapitre what gospeler seith the first sentence and at ech sentence of another gospel he settith the name of that gospeler for o word so that in many placis of his book the names of the gospeleris occupyen myche more space than the sentences won. ther for lest this ofte rehersyng and medlyng of the names of the gospeleris among the sentence schulde make the sentence derk and cumbre symple mennys wittis I sette in the begynnyng of a chapitre alle the gospeleris that treten that chapitre and in what place of the bible.

<sup>1</sup> On f. 1r. and v.

Then follow the *chapiters* of the twelve parts of the harmony.  
The first runs :

Goddis kyndely sonne was witout bigynnyng by personne he was another than  
the fadir thoghugh beyng other substaunce he was the same with the fadir he  
was the maker of alle thingis with tyme he was maad in tyme and the lyf and  
light of men.

And ending :

Ihu apperide to enleune disciplis in an hil in Galile at the laste he apperide to  
enleune and reproude the unfeithfulness of hem seyng enleune he stey in to  
heuene.

The sections, each of which consists of an episode, a parable, or other saying or group of sayings, number 150, and the number of episodes which form a section varies from six to eighteen. As the Gospels in modern English contain hardly fewer than 90,000 words, it will be realised that, allowance being made for those passages which are nearly identical in any two, or in all three, of the synoptic Gospels, this English version was of the utmost value to those who were able to read it. If Clement deserves praise, so do his translators.

It is difficult for us, who have lived through what appear to be far more stirring times than those through which Wyclif and his friends were living almost exactly six centuries ago, to realise the deep impression which the Black Death made on them. The life of the medieval man being in any case comparatively short, the appearance of a plague the like of which, at any rate so far as the people of this country in the middle of the fourteenth century could judge, had never before been experienced, seemed to be the judgment of God on a naughty world. It may be that, to Wyclif and his friends, the time seemed to be short for all that had to be done to recover something of the primitive simplicity of religious faith and practice and, to that end, to produce a version of the Bible in English. Wyclif's tract, *The Last Age of the Church*, has been regarded as revealing the thoughts of his heart during this time. Be this as it may, the second half of the fourteenth century will always live as the period in which Wyclif's plan took shape and reality. It was not the result of accident or coincidence, either, that other and similar plans, even if not as ambitious as his, were carried out. The number of

surviving copies of versions of the scriptures in English which belong to this period bears witness to something in the nature of a movement which, even though sectional, spasmodic and short-lived, gives to the fourteenth century a character which is all its own. It is against this background that what follows is to be placed.

The authorship of the translation of Clement of Llanthony's *concordia* was discussed by Forshall and Madden almost a century ago in their monumental work, *The Bible in the Earliest English Versions*. They wrote :<sup>1</sup>

That Wyclif was the author of this translation is inferred because (1) it has been, from the time of Bale, uniformly attributed to him and never to any other person ; (2) it has a very close agreement with his version of the Gospels ; and (3) the prologue is partly taken from his exposition of Matthew, and is altogether in his style of writing.

A close comparison of Clement Englished with either Wyclif I or Wyclif II (as for our present purpose we may call Wyclif's own translation and the revision by Purvey respectively) makes this abundantly clear. Whether it was compiled before or after Wyclif II is a question that, for the present, may be left undecided ; but that it belongs to the same "family" of translations as both the greater works there can be no doubt at all. It will probably be agreed, also, when the evidence has been produced on which to base a judgment, that the York manuscript belongs to the same "family" and was, therefore, Wycliffite in origin and execution. If this should be the case, we have a welcome picture of the ceaseless activity of Wyclif and his "school" of translators—Nicholas of Hereford and John Purvey as translators-in-chief with Wyclif, and a number of lesser lights—how many can never be known any more than their identity—all anxious to show their devotion to their master by carrying on after his death, because the project was the one nearest his heart, the work he had taught them to do. It was in this soil that not only Clement Englished but also the York Dominical Gospels, and who knows what other texts also that have disappeared, grew to maturity. This little and faithful band of good men were making history.

<sup>1</sup> *The Bible in the Earliest English Versions*, Vol. I, p. x.

There is yet another indication of the Wycliffite origin of the York text in a long gloss on the Gospel for the second Sunday after Easter, on the text :

the wolf rauyschith and scaterith the sheep (St. John x, 12).  
In f. 113r., column 2, line 8, the gloss begins :

God seith by the prophete malachie in ij c° *the lippis of a preest kepyng kunnyng & men seken the lawe of his mouth for he is an aungel of the lord of oostis* where the comyn glos seith if a preest is arid of the lawe teche he ouercome the aghenseieris ellis in veyn he boostith the dignyte of which he filleth not the worchyng god seith by the profete eggey ij c° *axe you prestis the lawe* where the comyn glos seith it longith to prestis to kunne the lawe of god and to answeare to axyng of the lawe if he is a prest kunne he the lawe of the lord if he kunne not the lawe he preueth hym silf to be no prest of the lord who euer studieth to ressyue hooli ordre by ghyuynge of priys is no prest but vanyli he coueitith to be seid a prest if a prest hath getun a chirche bi monei not oneli be he pryuued of the chirche but be maad nakid or degraded fro onour of presthod forwhi to bie or sille auteris tithes and the hooli goost is eresie of symonye as ech crysten man knowith blesseyng turneth to hym in to cursyng which is auaucid to this that he be an eretic thei that sullen or bien hooli ordres moun not be prestis where for it is writun curs to the ghyuere curs to the takere this is heresie of symonye. Gregory in his register sin the comon law god seith bi the prophete malachie ij c° *I shal curse youre blessingis* that is what euer thing is blessid of you schal be cursid of me . . . god seith by the prophete iohel in iij c° *they han put a child in bordel hous and seedl a damsele for wyn* that prelat puttith a child in the bordel hous and sillith a damsele of wyn which seeth hem wlappid in lecheris and other synnes and for cause of fowl wynnnyng repreueth not hem the comyn glose on the same texte seith that curatis and prelatis office stondith in these thre that is in word of lijf in lanterne o ensample of hooli lyuyng and in swetnesse of inner charite thus owen curatis to fede her sugetis as crist seide thries to petre fede yee my scheep.

Much more to the same effect follows—that curates who fail to be an example of godly living *withdrawith the more part of curatis office* and by so doing are like a man *drawynge out a knyf and with a strong smytynge euene aghenst the herte*, and that priests should be clothed with righteousness.

Copious references to St. Bernard and to Grosseteste are made. Then comes an attack on the papal *curia* (f. 116v, col. 2, line 10) :

the cause welle and bigynnyng of this yuel is this court of the pope not oneli for it distruyeth not these yuels and purgith not these abhomynaciouns sithen aloone it mai moost do this and is holden moost yerto but more therfor this court bi his prouysions dispensaciouns and ghyuynge of prelatis cure ordeyneth siche unable prelatis rathe lesaris of this world that this court purueith to temporal

lijf of sum o man at ghuyeth many thousyndis of soulis to the deuoutyng of alle beestis of the feeld. that is fendis and to euerlastynge day for each of whiche to be quykened withouten ende the sone of god ghyueth cure of soulis to a man unmyghti unkunnynge or not willynge to kepe duli is gilti of alle though summe ascape as he bitakith the gouernaile of a schip to oon unmyghti unkunnynge or not willinge to governe is gilti of the schip and of alle thingis conteyned therinne.

This attack is followed by long quotations from the sermon preached before the pope and the papal *curia* by Grosseteste, who more than a century earlier had declared that "the *causa fons et origo* of the evil state of the Church was the corruption of the *curia*".<sup>1</sup> It is here submitted that these opinions could have sprung from the mind of nobody in this century but that of a follower of Wyclif.

We now turn to the evidence of the various texts, using Wyclif I and II, Clement Englished and the York Dominical Gospels, each of which, in its own way, is a faithful translation of the Vulgate, as literal as it was possible to make it. It must be borne in mind that, while the whole text of the four Gospels, in the revised Version, occupies about 90,000 words, Clement Englished takes up little more than one-third of this number and the York text not more than one-sixth. There is here, however, ample material for a comparison which, it is hoped, will establish the claim that the two shorter versions belong to the same group or family as the two Wycliffite texts. In this event, the York text cannot have been the work of Richard Stradel.

In the course of his gloss, the author of the York text quotes not only from the Old Testament, but also from the Epistles in the New Testament. Some of the translations from the Epistles are set out below, with the corresponding portions of the text of Wiclid I and II :

<sup>1</sup> J. R. H. Moorman, *English Church Life in the 13th Century*, p. 219.

## WYCLIF I.

## CLEMENT ENGLISHED.

## THE YORK TEXT.

St. Matthew xi.  
3

pore men ben taken to prechyn  
of the gospel (or ben made kepers  
of the gospel).

clothide with softe thingis.

St. Matthew xxvii.

he led by penaunce (or forethen-  
kyng) broughte aghein thritt  
platis of seluer to the princis  
of prestis and to the eldred men  
of the peple.

goyinge away he hangide hym  
with a grane (or a gnare).

sotheli counciel taken thei  
boughten with them the feed  
of a potter in to bryinge of  
dead men.

the pris of a man preyisid whom  
thei preyisden of the sonys of  
israel.

pore men ben taken to prechyn  
of the gospel (or ben made kepers  
of the gospel).

clothide with softe clothis.

St. Matthew xxvii.

he repenteid and broughte xxx  
pens to the princes of prestis and  
to the eldred men of the puple.

he goyng hangid hym silf with a  
snare.

sothely a council taken thei  
broughten of the pens the feed  
of a potter to the brying of  
pilgrimys.

the pries of a man priyseid of the  
sones of israel.

pore men ben taken to prechyn  
of the gospel (or ben made kepers  
of the gospel).

clothide with softe clothis.

St. Matthew xxvii.

was led by penaunce and bar  
aghen xxx pens to the princis of  
prestis and the eldred men  
of the people.

he goyng hangid hym silf  
with a snare.

sotheli a council taken thei  
broughten of the platis of  
silver the feed of a potter in to  
the brying of deede men.

the pries of a man preised of  
the sones of israel.

## WYCLIF I.

## WYCLIF II.

## CLEMENT ENGLISHED.

## St. Mark vii.

and eftsoone Jesus goyng out fro the endis (or coostis) of tire cam thurgh sidon to the see of galilee that is betwixe the myddil endis of decapoleos and thei bryngen to him a man deaf and doumbe and preiden him that he putte to him the hond.

sente his fyngris in to his little eeris.

sorwide withynne.

anon his eeris weren openyd and the bond of his tunge is unbounden and he spak ryghtly.

he dide wel alle thingis.

and eftsoones Jesus gede out fro the coostis of tyre and cam thorou sydon to the see of galilee betwixe the myddil of the coostis of decapolis and thei bringen to hym a deaf man and doumbe and thei prayeden hym that he putte the hond to hym.

puttede his fyngris into hisee eeris.

inwardli weilide.

anoon his eeris weren opened and the bond of his tunge was unbunden and he spak ryghtly.

he hath do wel all thingis.

and whanne Jesus passed eft fro the coostis of tire cam bi sidon to the see of galile betwix the myddil coostis of decapolis and thei ledien to hym a deaf man and doumbe and thei prayeden hym that he putte the hond to hym.

sente hisse fyngris in to his eeris.

sorewide inwardli.

anoon his eeris weren openyd and the bond of his tunge was unbunden and he spak ryghtly.

he dide wel alle thingis.

and eft Jesus goyng out of the coostis of tire cam to sidon on to the see of galilee betwix the myddil coostis of decapolis and thei bringen to hym a deaf man and doumbe and thei prayeden hym that he putte the hond to hym.

sente hisse fyngris in to his eeris.

sorewide inwardli.

anoon his eeris weren openyd and the bond of his tunge was unbunden and he spak ryghtly.

he dide wel alle thingis.

## WYCLIF I.

## CLEMENT ENGLISHED.

## THE YORK TEXT.

## St. Mark xvi.

that they comyng schulde anyoynte  
Jesus.

that they comyngschulde anyoyte  
Jesus.

ful erly in one of the woke dayes.

ful erly in one of the woke dayes.

who schal aghen turne to us the  
stoone of the dore of the sepul-  
chre.

who schal moue away to us the  
stoone fro the dore of the sepul-  
chre.

to come and enoynte Jesus.

that they comyngschulde anyoyte  
Jesus.

ful erly in o day of the woke.

ful erly in one of the woke dayes.

who schal turne away to us the  
stoone fro the dore of the sepul-  
chre.

who schal turne away for us the  
stoone fro the dore of the sepul-  
chre.

that they comyngschulde anyoyte  
Jesus.

that they comyngschulde anyoyte  
Jesus.

ful erly in one of the woke dayes.

ful erly in one of the woke dayes.

who schal moue away to us the  
stoone fro the dore of the sepul-  
chre.

who schal turne away for us the  
stoone fro the dore of the sepul-  
chre.

that they comyngschulde anyoyte  
Jesus.

that they comyngschulde anyoyte  
Jesus.

ful erly in one of the woke dayes.

ful erly in one of the woke dayes.

who schal turne away to us the  
stoone fro the dore of the sepul-  
chre.

who schal turne away for us the  
stoone fro the dore of the sepul-  
chre.

## WYCLIF I.

St. Luke ii.

## WYCLIF II.

CLEMENT ENGLISHED.

THE YORK TEXT.

and his eldris that is his fader  
and moder wenten by alle gheeris  
in to Jerusalem in the solempne  
day of paske and whanne Jesus  
was maad of twelve gheenis hem  
stighyng vp in to Jerusalem after the  
custom of the feeste day.

camen the weye of a day and  
soughten hym among his cosyns  
and knownen.

wisten ghe not for in tho thingis  
that ben of my fadir it bihoveth  
me to be.

his modir kepte to gidere all thes  
wordis berynge to gidere in her  
lerte.

and his fadir and modir wenten bi  
ech yere into Jerusalem in the  
solempne day of pask and whanne  
Jesus was twelve yere oold thei  
wenten up to Jerusalem after the  
custom of the feeste day.

And his fadir and modir wenten bi  
alle yeris into Jerusalem in the  
solempne day of pask and when  
Jesus was maad of xii yeris he  
stiyng in to Jerusalem up the  
custom of the feeste day.

wisten ye not for in thoo thingis  
that ben of my fadir it behoueth  
me to be.

his modir kepte all these wordis  
berynge to gider in her herte.

As in Clement, but with *hem* for  
*he.*

camen the weye of a day and  
soughten hym among his cosyns  
and knownen.

wisten ye not for in thoo thingis  
that ben of my fadir it behoueth  
me to be.

his modir kepte all these wordis  
berynge to gider in her herte.

## WYCLIF I.

THE YORK TEXT.  
CLEMENT ENGLISHED.

St. John ii.

in the chane or cuntre of Galilee.

and wijn faylynge.

there weren putten sixe stonen  
potis.thei filliden hem unto the high-  
est part.draw ghee now and berith to  
architriclyn (that is prynce of the  
hous of thre stagis).ech man puttith first good wijn  
and whanne men schulen be  
fulfilde than that that is worse.

in the cane of Galilee.

and whanne wijn failide.

there weren set sixe stoonen  
cannes.

thei filliden hem up to the mouth.

drawe ye now and bere ye to  
architriclyn.ech man settith first good wyn  
and whanne men ben fillid than  
that that is worse.

in the chane or cuntre of Galilee.

and wyn failinge.

there weren set sixe stonun pottis.  
pottis.thei filliden hem til to the  
heigheste part.drawe ye now and bere ye to  
architriclyn that is prynce in the  
hous of threstages.ech man puttith first good wyn  
and whanne men schulen be  
filled than that that is worse.

## WICLIFFE I.

I Corinthians i, 23.

we prechen crist crucifiede to iewes soethly  
sclaudre to hethen men soethly foli.

## WICLIFFE II.

we prechen crist crucified to iewis sclaudre  
and to hethen men foli.  
We prechen crist crucified treuli sclaudre to  
iewis but folly to hethene men.

Galatians vi, 14.

be it fer to me for to glorie no but in the  
crosse of oure lorde ihu christ.

Fer be it fro me to haue glorie no but in the cros  
of our lord Jesus Crist.

Ephesians iv, 5, 6.

one lorde one feith one baptysm one god and  
fadir of alle the whiche is above alle men and  
by alle thingis and in us alle.

Fer be it fro me to haue glorie no but in the cros  
of oure lord Jesus Crist.

St. James, iv, 4.

who euer schal wole for to be frende of this  
worlde is ordeynede the enemy of god.

Fer be it fro me to haue glorie no but in the cros  
of oure lord Jesus Crist.

II St. Peter. 5-7.

that heunes waren before and the erthe of  
water and by water beinge (or standyng to  
geder) by goddis worde by which thingis that  
ilke worlde clenside thanne perischide.

theuens that weren before and the erthe of  
water and standyng bi watir thorough goddis  
word bi which thilke world clensid thanne bi  
water perischide.

## THE YORK TEXT.

St. John xvi is an example of almost exact verbal identity in the four versions. The most obvious difference in language is met in verse 21, where *affliccio* (Vulgate), translated in the A.V. *anguish*, is rendered in Wyclif I as *pressure* (or *peyne*), in Wyclif II as *peyne*, in Clement Englished as *peyne*, and in the York text as *pressure or charge*. In *Benedictus* (St. Luke i, vv. 68 to 79) there is again, on the whole and except for minor differences, a striking similarity, this time between Wyclif I and II on the one hand, and, on the other hand, Clement Englished and the version in the Primer or Lay Folks' Prayer Book. Where the A.V. and the Book of Common Prayer have *tender mercy* (verse 78)—one of those lovely inspirations of Tyndale—Wyclif I and II both have *entraylis*, in which they are followed by Clement Englished, while the Lay Folks' Primer goes one better with *inwardnesse of the merci*. But none of them rise to the heights of Tyndale and the Book of Common Prayer with *dayspring from on high*. Clement Englished has *in whiche he rising up fro on hij*; while both Wycliffite versions have *in which he spryngynge up fro on hij*. Similar resemblances are to be seen in the translations of *Magnificat* (St. Luke i, 46-55) in the same four versions (Wyclif I and II, Clement Englished and the Lay Folks' Primer). Slight variations in the order of words or phrases do not destroy the general similarities.

Here are several versions of the Lord's Prayer all, except the first, of the fourteenth century.

## VULGATE.

## WYCLIF I.

## WYCLIF II.

Pater, sanctificetur nomen tuum.	Fadir, halewid be thi name.	Fadir, halowid be thi name.
Adueniat regnum tuum.	Thi kyngdom come to.	Thi kyngdom come to.
Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie.	Ghyue to vs to day oure eche dayes breed.	Gyue to vs to day oure eche dayes breed.
Et dimitte nobis peccata nostra sicutdem et nos dimittimus omni debenti nobis.	And forghyue to vs oure synnes, as and we forghyuen to ech owynge to vs.	And forgyue to us oure synnes as we forgyuen to eche man that oweth to us.
Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.	And leed not vs in to temptacioun.	And lede us not into temptation.

## CLEMENT ENGLISHED.

THE LAY FOLKS PRIMER.<sup>1</sup>

The fadir halewid be thi name.

Oure fadir that art in heuenes

Thi rewmne come.

Halewid be thi name.

Come to thi kingdom.

Gyue thu to us this day our ech dayes  
breed.

Thi wille be don in erthe as it is in  
heuene.

And forgyue to us oure synnes as also  
we forgyuen to ech that owith to us.

Oure ech daies breed gyue to us to-dai.

And lede not us in to temptacioun.

And forgyue us oure dettis as and we  
forgyue to oure dettouris.

And lede us not in to temptacioun, but  
delyuere us from yuel.

## THE YORK TEXT.

Oure fadir that art in heuenes  
halewid be thi name.

thi will be doon as in heuene so also in erthe.

Ghyue to us this dai oure breed ouer othere substaunce.

And forghyue to us oure dettis as we forghyuen to oure dettouris.

And lede us not in to temptacioun, but delyuere us fro yuele. Amen.

A LOLLIARD VERSION.<sup>2</sup>

Oure fadir that art in heuenes,  
Halwid be thi name.

Thi wille be don in erthe right as it is in heuene.

Geue vs today our eche dayes breed.

And forgeue vs oure dettis as we forgeuen to houre dettouris.

And ne lede vs not in to temptacioun.

But delyuere vs fro euyl.

The first impression made by a comparison of these parallel quotations is that, in spite of differences here and there, the four versions belong to the same group or family. This impression is deepened by a reading of longer passages, from the Old as well as the New Testament (in the case of quotations from the Old Testament in the commentary in the York text), in which verse after verse is identically the same. There cannot be any doubt that Clement Englished and the York text are of Wycliffite origin. At this point, it is well to remind the reader that, though all four versions were derived ultimately from the Vulgate, there was a fairly wide scope, in the course of translation, for far more

<sup>1</sup> From the E.E.T.S. edition (edited by Henry Littlehales), 1895.

<sup>2</sup> From ms. XVI, l. 12 in the library of the Dean and Chapter of York.

variations in phrasing, in vocabulary and in syntax than is to be noticed in these four texts. Yet this opportunity of wide divergence in these directions was kept within bounds by the common aim of the translators and their filial piety towards the memory of their master.

But in what order were the four texts written? It may be assumed that, even if the New Testament of 1380 was not the work of Wyclif in all its details, it was produced under his watchful eye, and that it was the earliest of the four texts. But which of the remaining three was the latest it would not be possible to determine without a detailed study of the texts, which is outside the scope of this paper. There is enough correspondence between the two shorter texts on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the text of Purvey, to make it possible that the authors of the former knew of Purvey's translation or, as is perhaps the more likely on general grounds, that he knew of theirs. More than this cannot be said here.

#### TEXTS USED IN THE COMPILATION OF THIS PAPER.

##### 1. Manuscript.

- (a) Dominical Gospels and Paternoster, with glosses. Library of the Dean and Chapter of York, xvi. D. 2.
- (b) Purvey's New Testament (Wyclif II). In the same library, mss. xvi. N. 7 and xvi. O. 2.
- (c) Lollard Commentary on the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Paternoster, etc. In the same library, xvi. L. 12.
- (d) Clement of Llanthony's *concordia quatuor evangelistarum*, in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough, ms. 8. Transcribed by the late V. Burch, D.D.

##### 2. Printed.

- (a) The New Testament translated from the Latin in the year 1380 by John Wyclif, D.D. Edited by H. H. Baber. (Purvey's text.)
- (b) The New Testament in English translated by John Wyclif MCCCLXXX, from a contemporary manuscript formerly in the monastery of Sion, Middlesex. Chiswick, MDCCCXLVIII. (Wyclif's text.)
- (c) The Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels in parallel columns, with the versions of Wyclif and Tyndale. Edited by Joseph Bosworth and George Waring. L., 1865. (Wyclif's text.)
- (d) The Hexapla, containing the text of Purvey, 1841.

The reader is warned that, of the 180-or-so copies in manuscript of the two versions, no two are exactly alike, and that therefore no version of either translation can claim to be exactly the one which came from the pen of its translator.

F. H., York, November 8th, 1945.

# ENGLISH UNIVERSITY CLERKS IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES: THE PROBLEM OF MAINTEN- ANCE.

By ERNEST F. JACOB, M.A., D.PHIL.

A PUPIL of the late Dean Rashdall cannot begin a lecture on any aspect of the Medieval University without some reference to the wise and inspiring teacher of his earlier years. It was Rashdall who first made him interested in aspects of University history which received little more than cursory treatment in *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*; for the book, despite its size and comprehensiveness, was in reality quite an early one in its author's career. A large residuum of learning and scholarship remained, never to be printed or even put on paper: Rashdall, first a busy tutor, then a busy dean, could not find the time. Much of that learning and scholarship bore upon those very phases and routine of University life which he seems to have somewhat neglected. As his big work stands it remains true, according to the judgment of his modern editors, that his concentration upon the heroic masters of dialectic or legal study around whom the Universities were, as he thought, constructed, led to a certain neglect of the internal organisation and scholastic routine of the Universities he was discussing. Characteristically he always thought of the medieval English University in terms of colleges rather than of halls or inns: that is, of the privileged exceptions rather than of the less privileged many. It has been Dr. Salter's task to restore the balance, as far as Oxford is concerned; and nobody would have welcomed more keenly than Rashdall the new concentration upon the economic life of the University and the data forthcoming from a very important category of material in which the late Dr. Haskins showed so much interest: the letters of students.<sup>1</sup>

Many of these have been revealed to us through the publication of the formularies and writing manuals of professional *dictatores* or teachers of composition, on the one hand, and of

<sup>1</sup> *Medieval Culture*, pp. 1-35.

the early statutes, on the other. It is difficult material. Statutes may be printed by modern editors, but how in fact were they observed? The writing masters may invent elegant and captivating forms for their pupils, but were the letters which they provided for all occasions actually sent? Books of specimen letters may easily have served to advertise the masters who composed them; and in medieval times, as every student of constitutional history knows, statutes no less represented ideals rather than realities. With the letters, however, it is the topics dealt with rather than the fact of dispatch that is significant; and statutes at all events show the formulated purpose of authority, and are valuable for the evidence they give of the tensions and compromises of academic life.

As the financial resources of the University clerk is our main theme, one fact may be stated against the prevalent tendency to regard the University clerk in the later Middle Ages as invariably poor and living his life on a bare margin of subsistence: that indigence was by no means invariably the case. To take three fifteenth-century bishops of Lincoln, it is difficult to imagine William Alnwick (well provided for by Stephen Scrope, Arch-deacon of Richmond), William Gray or Marmaduke Lumley as impecunious when in the schools. Still less Richard or George Neville, the latter a target for Gascoigne's scorn.<sup>1</sup> There was a fair sprinkling of *generosi*, young men of high birth, in the later medieval University. This was especially so at Cambridge, where, in the rolls of petitions for benefices sent to the Roman Curia between 1372 and 1390, no less than fourteen young nobles are to be traced, including names like Grey, Despenser, FitzHugh, Bardolf, Zouche and de la Pole.<sup>2</sup> The personnel of King's Hall, the Cambridge home of the young man of position destined for ecclesiastical preferment,<sup>3</sup> would be worth study in this connection.

<sup>1</sup> *Loci e libro veritatum*, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> "Petitions for benefices from English Universities during the Great Schism," *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., vol. xxvii (1945), 56 f.

<sup>3</sup> "These scholars and pensioners of King's Hall were many of them sons, relations or protégés of courtiers and civil servants lay and ecclesiastical . . . the scholars of King's Hall were 'the King's Childer', after whom the lane that ran by their college was called." G. M. Trevelyan, *Trinity College*, p. 5.

What then of the great majority? Were they in the strict sense 'poor'? And what does a 'poor scholar' mean? Would the Middle Ages have regarded the present-day 'State Scholar' as 'poor'? Very probably: for poverty might mean lack of patrimony. But there is a simple answer to the first question. In the Middle Ages many students were poor because they were short of money; and one obvious reason was that money itself was far from abundant. There were, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, periodical shortages of coin. The years 1335-1343, when the output of coin was limited to bare halfpence and farthings, was such a period, which produced an economic crisis that came to a head in a petition to parliament. The silver coinage of 1344-1351 helped to right matters for the time being, but the English coinage still remained under-valued in relation to foreign coins, the country was quickly drained of its supply, and there was not enough bullion. Import and export duties imposed, together with the prohibition on the export of coin and precious metals and gems, only served to check trade. The output of the Mint dwindled, and from the end of 1413 the amount coined in gold and silver was almost negligible. In 1412 a new coinage with a noble of 108 grains of standard gold and a penny of 15 grains standard silver was put into circulation. This was immediately effective, and there was a large output of coin of both metals for the next twenty years, after which bullion was again short, except for spasmodic increases of silver. There was, therefore, no constant and steady supply, a fact which, coupled with periodical dearth (*caristia*), had serious economic consequences. Students will invariably complain that they are short of ready money, but the constant theme of their letters in the fourteenth century, particularly during the time of the Stamford troubles, must be seen in relation to the general monetary problem as much as to the circumstances of their parents.

In the young, the very young especially, to be out of pocket does not always argue poverty: sometimes it points to 'the detestable close-fistedness of parents'; not infrequently to extravagance. But Oxford also suffered from the recurrence of *caristia*, dearth of provisions and consequent high prices, nor was Cambridge an exception. Then there was the parsimony

shown by principals of halls, who may deliberately have kept their young charges short, and only doled out a small proportion of the sums which parents had entrusted to them. Needless to say, lack of cash is one of the commonest themes of medieval students' letters. The letters written by Thomas Sampson, the Oxford writing-master (active 1350-1380), as models for his pupils in these emergencies, braced the errant son to meet the reproaches of his father and suggested the becoming answer, sometimes not wholly to the disadvantage of the writing-master himself. A father is made to write angrily :

In the manner you have described and in none other, greeting. The ways of life which you affect from day to day and which have been your undoing, ay and your apprehension by the authorities (as I have been given to understand by your companions on their visits here from time to time) have caused me great pain at heart and your mother too, so that at the sight of her grief I have been stricken with anguish, not least on account of your friends and ours who tell me what they have heard. Wherefore, to recover your honour and put slander under foot, you will now cease from such ribald behaviour, knowing that on no account will I give you any aid or financial help, if you require it, while you behave thus madly and outrageously, and that you will possess my curse as you had my blessing before. I cannot say any more now, but get your assistance elsewhere, if you want it.<sup>1</sup>

Equal to any censure, the son replies :

For his revered father his son humbly wishes all manner of honour, earnestly praying that our Lord in his power keep you night and day. As you have been given to understand that I have no desire to learn and that I am doing no work, pray believe me, sir, that my hope, on the contrary, is that you will understand matters aright, for, when I next come, I will tell you clearly how it is with me, and I will make you understand, and prove to you, that you have been told misleading tales. Wherefore I pray to God the Father on high that you will not have cause to forget my master, but will aid me to pay my expenses to him, as you can see in reading this letter. (Sampson's bill was probably enclosed.) I should like to say more, but at present am occupied in study with my dear master, so that there is no time to write or to say more. The Father, the Son, and Mary his Mother who are in undoubted bliss have you in his keeping night and day, so prays John your child.<sup>2</sup>

Affection for the master may indeed be genuine, as can be seen from a letter in which a scholar writes that he is bringing the master home for two or three days at Christmas.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Oxford Formularies*, edd. H. E. Salter, W. A. Pantin, H. G. Richardson (Oxf. Hist. Soc., New Series V, 1942), ii, 360-361.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 361.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 409.

The youths who were sent by their parents or their patrons to the University are often described as considerably younger than the modern undergraduate. It is well to be careful here. Some confusion has been caused by the presence in the University towns of boys of 13-15 years, who in fact were not studying in the Faculty of Arts at all, but were simply learning grammar or receiving elementary business training from resident teachers,<sup>1</sup> in whose houses they lived, while a considerable number were in the grammar halls. Some of these boys never took degrees at all ; others in time moved into the various halls or inns which after 1420 were the only permitted places of residence for the matriculated student, where they continued in the Faculty of Arts, and under properly accredited teachers, the grammatical studies prescribed by the medieval *trivium*. It is extremely difficult to discover the true age of these young men. It is unlikely that any student would be able to take his B.A. before he was nineteen and a half : seventeen, or at the earliest sixteen and a half must have been the age when many<sup>2</sup> began their studies in the Faculty of Arts. Age has frequently been taken from matriculation entries : yet how misleading these entries are likely to be can be judged by a scrutiny of Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, a well-known book of reference largely used by family historians. Here the matriculation entry is always given where extant, this includes the age of the person in question. Sir Edmund Craster has kindly pointed out to me that in the entries of three members of his own family the age recorded in the matriculation register does not agree with the age derived from the actual date of birth. In two cases the age is decreased two years, and in the third case one year. Such discrepancies may be more frequent than is supposed. For example, Samuel Butler, afterwards Bishop of Durham, is given as 17, whereas he was really 22 ; and Samuel Wesley, who matriculated in 1684 aged '18', was also 22. These facts suggest that there may have been a 'matriculation age' as opposed to the real age, so as to bring the person in question within the College Statutes.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. G. Richardson, "Business Training in Medieval Oxford", *American Historical Review*, XLVI (1941), 259 f. ; and *Oxford Formularies*, ii, 407.

<sup>2</sup> 'Many', because certain college statutes provided for the admission of undergraduates at an earlier age, e.g. 15, and in one later case (Magdalen) 12.

Such examples are, of course, from a post-medieval period : but they raise the whole question of proof of age, and suggest that much more evidence should be collected before we assume that the average University student began his career at 15, as has frequently been stated.

In medieval times students required more supervision than they are accorded to-day, and this was done in two ways : through the action of the Chancellor and proctors, whose duty it was to remove by banishment or quell by fining elements that might give trouble ; and through the discipline of the halls, which, though often privately owned, had principals licensed by, and responsible to, the University. At least once a year the principals and manciples of the halls at Oxford were convoked by the Chancellor who inquired about disturbers of the peace and women of ill fame, the town and its suburbs being divided into six areas, to each of which a theologian, a jurist or decretist, and two masters of arts were appointed as a supervisory committee. The halls, which were fairly numerous, varied much in size and character. As Dr. Salter has remarked, a rich man might take a hall and use it as a residence and nothing more. The ordinary inmate (if the term is appropriate) paid the rent of his study, say sixpence a term, which served as a bed-sitting-room, paid for his commons weekly, and made a contribution towards the salary of the manciple and the cook. He had other expenses, e.g. for washing, for gaudies (special feasts) and the *commutacio*, a fee of twopence a term to the beadle of the faculty in which he was studying. There was also the terminal lecture fee, generally about 1s. 8d. paid to his hall ; and there would be personal expenses, e.g. a shirt, gloves, barbers' charges and so forth. A document published by Dr. Salter shows that the principal of a hall, accounting for one of his pupils during the Michaelmas term of 1424, gave the young man's expenses at 16s. 8d. : "and there remains in my hand," wrote the careful principal, "from the original sum 40d." The "original sum" reveals the system. "The tutor or principal is provided with a sum of money which he doles out to his pupil, as his needs require, and the undergraduate himself has nothing."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "An Oxford Hall in 1424", *Essays in History presented to Reginald Lane Poole*, p. 422.

We cannot, however, assume that this is necessarily the rule, and Dr. Salter himself draws a distinction between artists, who were mainly undergraduates, and legists who were older men and tended to be of higher social position.<sup>1</sup> Older and more responsible students will pay their own expenses, as can be seen from the letter of a legist, possibly a bachelor of Civil Law, writing home to his father : it is in Rylands Lat. MS. 394.

Do not be surprised at me, even though I dare to molest the kindly ears of your compassion with the prayers I now pour forth. Since I cannot get along (*evadere*) without heavy cost, I have scarcely enough money for my expenses till the bearer of this letter returns ; for in commons I cannot manage (*evadere* again) with less than 8d. a week, but in other necessaries also I have spent the money allowed me, and have to go on spending : to wit, in my journey to Oxford, for myself and my horse, 3s. 4d. ; in the purchase of two books at Oxford, namely the *Codex* and the *Digestum Vetus*, after I got here, 6s. 8d. ; item to the teacher from whom I hear my 'ordinary' lectures, 2s. ; and when you reckon in the wages of our manciple and cook, the hire of my study and many other necessities with which I need not trouble you, because of their number, it will be obvious that my expenses are not unreasonable. Besides, I think I ought to tell you one thing : there has not been better study found in Civil Law than this year, since there are two doctors lecturing continuously here in the University, when before there was only one. Each vies with the other in the elaborateness of his teaching, and in giving the most useful instruction. In the hall where I reside the company is good and honourable, and we have sound discipline : whence, by God's grace and your assistance, I shall make a happy ending to the study I have begun. Wherefore I think I must ask you in your kindness to send me what you can by the bearer of this letter, and send me too by the messenger a note of the amount you are letting me have, whenever you do so, and be sure this time to tell me the state of your health. . . . These matters, as they stand, being fully and discreetly understood by yourself, I shall reckon that my entreaties have been handsomely answered, and will so labour in my academic task that I will never demean myself by the slumber of laziness, but will ever remain wakeful till I attain the knowledge I seek. Farewell in Him whose mercies are unnumbered. . . .<sup>3</sup>

In this case the parents have not entrusted a sum to the principal of his hall, but are sending their son his allowance direct. The reference to slumber is interesting (if always applicable to certain members of the University throughout the ages) : for University life must have been fairly strenuous in the Middle Ages. Formal or 'ordinary' lectures began as early as 6 a.m. (*hora prima*), and lasted with certain breaks till 11.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 433.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the letter of the Scholar to his Manciple, *Oxford Formularies*, ii, 401.

<sup>3</sup> *A Medieval Treatise on Letter-writing, with examples from Rylands MS. 394*, ed. W. A. Pantin (reprint from *Ante*, Vol. 13, No. 2, July 1929), pp. 54-55.

Disputations might go on till 7 p.m. On certain days, of course, there were no lectures or disputations (*dies non legibiles* or *non disputabiles*). Every student had to be on the roll of a regent master : he had to be formally matriculated seven days after he joined his hall, when particulars of his name, age and place of birth were taken. The University was suspicious of the unattached scholar ; at Oxford an ordinance of 1420 compelled all scholars and their servants to take an oath to observe the Statutes and to place themselves under the guardianship of a principal, and not to live with townsmen. In college the problem was naturally simpler : most of all in Wykeham's College, where the life of the whole community was regulated to a degree scarcely known outside a monastic community.

So many of the letters to parents, preserved in the books of the *dictatores*, are in Latin that one is tempted to inquire whether the father or mother thus appealed to could read them. Latin is all right (one hopes) for a bishop or a learned clerk ; but comparatively few parents would keep chaplains who could translate such missives. It is worth noting, therefore, that in most of his letter books, Sampson the *dictator* provided a French as well as a Latin version, not merely as an exercise for his pupil, but as an allowance to parental frailty. Here is an engaging request by a boy in an Oxford hall to his father, in both tongues :

My revered Sire and lord, I commend me to you with all good wishes. I know not what to offer you, my sweet father, since I am your son and, after God, entirely your own creature, and so completely yours that I can give you nothing : for the law says ' what is already mine cannot be to any greater degree mine than it now is. But if I can remember what the child's instinct prompts it to say, I might sing, as does the cuckoo unceasingly ' Da, da, da, da ' : which little song I am at this moment compelled to sing,<sup>1</sup> for the money which you so liberally gave me last time for my study is now completely disbursed, and I am in debt to the tune of five shillings and more. Therefore I beg you, my sweet father, with dutiful prayer, to let me have a sum of money to carry me on in the schools till Michaelmas : and may the All-Father preserve you safe in happiness for many years.<sup>2</sup>

The father thus solicited would probably have been unaware that he was receiving a model *epistola ex quinque (vel sex) clausulis pro subsidio obtinendo*, which followed a prescribed form in its

<sup>1</sup> ' La quelle chauntelette je sui constreint a chanter quant a ore.'

<sup>2</sup> *Oxford Formularies*, ii, 390.

*salutacio, narracio, peticio, conclusio and subsalutacio.* We can only hope that its pretty conceits appealed to him. It cannot, however, be maintained that, times of 'dearness' apart, the necessities of life in Oxford were expensive. In 1450 it was possible for an undergraduate to be fed for 2½d. a week, if he had only one meal a day (a penny piece of beef would feed four persons); at the lowest, with food and clothing reckoned in, a careful student in a hall would not need to spend more than 50s. a year. But a B.A. would have to meet heavier expenses, both at his 'determination' (taking his degree), and at the stationers from whom he purchased books. A scholar about to proceed to the degree of Bachelor of Canon Law writes :

My dear friend : Since about All Saints day I am proposing with God's grace to take the bachelor's degree in Canon Law, to gain which degree with distinction (*laudabiliter*) I must have a complete copy of the *Corpus Juris Canonici* according to University custom, and that *Corpus* I can acquire for 20*l.* or 20 marks, but have no money at present to pay for it : I beg and beseech you, in whom I have special confidence above others, to provide me with that sum together with 10*l.* for the graduation breakfast, and to send the money with the bearer of this letter.<sup>1</sup>

These were large sums : but in the specimen reply ready assent is given, and the writer speaks of the joy which 'all your spiritual sons' feel at the forthcoming promotion. The address is *reverendissime domine*, and the letter suggests that the friend who so obligingly undertook to send £30 may have passed the hat round among the spiritual sons, presumably the pupils and friends of the new bachelor. It may be that this exchange of letters was written on behalf of a religious, a comparatively senior monk who had asked one of his contemporaries to do what he could for him among friends and pupils at home ; for it is followed by a letter in which a group of monks notify their prior that they are about to remove from a single room (*camera*) to a hall, and to meet the expenditure involved.<sup>2</sup> But the juxtaposition may be fortuitous.

How long, then, were parents and patrons prepared to maintain young clerks at the University? Nobody could remain there without being 'exhibited', that is, paid for in some fashion. Much would depend on the length of the degree courses ; but

<sup>1</sup> *Oxford Formularies*, ii, 390.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 367.

no satisfactory answer can be given to the question, since it raises a variety of complicated issues. Two indications may perhaps be noted : the growing anxiety shown by the Universities in the later Middle Ages that their numbers were falling because of the difficulties experienced by their graduates in securing promotion to benefices<sup>1</sup> : and the foundation of new colleges that enabled the clerk to continue his University studies beyond the goal of regency or the bachelor's degree in one or both laws. These suggest that possible maintenance by parents or patrons did not extend very far, and that, as a general rule, the clerk who wanted to stay beyond his fourth year had either to seek the help of a foundation, if he was not in one already, or to take Holy Orders and secure a benefice (and a dispensation to study) for his support.

It was the latter course which the majority had to adopt, for at both Universities colleges were the exception rather than the rule ; and medieval colleges were in the main comparatively small societies of privileged graduates. Writing of Oxford in 1360, Dr. Salter has estimated that the six existing colleges would contain about 10 undergraduates, 23 bachelors and 40 masters. The founding of New College nearly doubled these figures, but if all the colleges had been dissolved in 1400, it would not have been a crushing blow to the University. The same is true of the eight colleges of medieval Cambridge that existed at the end of Edward III's reign, though there were fewer purely graduate foundations (Michaelhouse, Gonville Hall, Trinity Hall and the House of Corpus Christi). On the basis of the Oxford figures there would be, after the foundation of Wykeham's College, some 146-150 secular members of the University accommodated in colleges, out of a total of some 1200 members of the University in all. Of these the mendicants might number 60-80 (perhaps an over-estimate), and the monastic colleges, Durham and Canterbury, about 50 at the most, while certain odd canons at Osney and St. Frideswide's might bring the number up to 150 regulars. If, then, there were 140 seculars and 150 regulars in

<sup>1</sup> In December, 1417, Chichele referred to the *gravis et frequens querela* of the Universities on this account and to the *desperacio promocionis* : *Reg. Chichele*, iii, 41-42. For earlier attempts to relieve this, cf. *ibid.*, i, clii-iii.

collegiate foundations, that would leave 900 for the halls—a considerable majority. This was the figure which fell seriously in the period 1400-1438. It has been calculated that between 1300 and 1400 the total population of Oxford University dropped from about 1500 to about 1200 ; but that between 1400 and 1438 it sank still farther, to not more than 1000. The Oxford authorities had no doubt about the reason : repeatedly they laid the blame upon the lack of provisions, the scarcity of benefices for graduates. Many clerks, they said, could not afford to stay beyond the first degree : seven years were proving difficult enough, and the fourteen normally required for inception in theology or for the doctorate in canon or civil law, almost prohibitive. The length of residence and the courses of study were prescribed for the Faculties by statutes made in more fortunate times : statutes upheld and defended with impassioned obstinacy by seculars of the Faculty of Arts, especially the younger regents, who distrusted any concession to the religious, particularly to the mendicants. The 'Faculty of Philosophy' they regarded as the foundation of Oxford learning,<sup>1</sup> and its curriculum must be maintained against any attempts at abbreviation : but that meant longer residence, and where was the money to be found ?

It may be estimated that a regent master had to pay about £5 a year in expenses of all kinds : perhaps an under-estimate, if purchase of books is taken into account. Supposing that he had no other resources, and was not in a foundation from which he drew commons and could borrow the books he needed, he would require a reasonably good benefice, even though he might make something by masses and other occasional offices. To stay away from his benefices he needed a licence as well as a substitute to serve his cure, and this might cost him as much as 8-10 marks annually. He could scarcely sustain himself and preserve his *status* on what Mr. Moorman calculates to be the 'average' living of 10*l.* annual income<sup>2</sup> ; and there is evidence from the province of Canterbury to show that the yield of benefices was

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. Chichele*, iii, 50 : ' facultas philosophica que tam universitatis quam theologie est fundamentum '.

<sup>2</sup> *English Church Life in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 136.

declining in the first 30 years of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Tithe was not coming in as it should ; there was much devastation in southern coastal areas ; and the agricultural decline was having serious effects. Our information about the precarious position of the vicarage is on a footing with this conclusion.<sup>2</sup>

Hence the great advantage of the colleges and the competition to enter them, if it could be done. Within, allowances might be liberal. At Oriel every fellow was furnished with board and lodging, and 15d. a week, with 5s. at Christmas and Easter and 40d. at Whitsuntide. The original twenty scholars of Walter de Merton's community at Oxford had an allowance of 40s. a year ; generally speaking, table allowances were on a reasonable scale. At New College the fellows, chaplains and scholars received 12d. a week in times of plenty, and in times of scarcity 16d., increased to 18d. when corn was at more than 2s. a bushel. The contrast between conditions within and without help to explain the feelings of the baffled would-be entrant. Recent publication of University letters from a Durham register (end of the fourteenth century) shows the Prior of Durham expostulating with the Warden and Fellows of Merton and then complaining to the Bishop of Durham about the attitude of the college to clerks in his diocese. His argument is that since Merton has property in the diocese of Durham (Embledon) it is bound by its statutes and customs to elect a certain proportion of Fellows from the diocese ; but instead, the college has been favouring southerners ; for the last sixteen years there have been only two Fellows elected from the see of Durham, and those have been expelled.<sup>3</sup> It has been well observed by the editor of these documents that ' strong local connections and fellowships confined to certain counties, which survived till quite recently, were not due to a freakish whim of founders, but were an intelligible part of the social system ; where a college draws revenues from a certain locality, the men of that locality, the compatriots, will look to the college to provide promotion for their relations and friends and tenants ' ;<sup>4</sup> and, if this did not happen, the countryside would be up in arms. The Prior of Durham, who took the lead on behalf of the *patria*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Reg. Chichele*, iii, 115-117.

<sup>2</sup> *Oxford Formularies*, i, 227-231.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, i, ciii-iv, cl-i.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 222.

was not pushing the claims of his own monks, who could never be elected to a secular foundation : he was standing as a northern champion at the complaint of northerners both in the University and at home ; and he secured, for a time at any rate, the sequestration of Merton's northern revenues.

It appears from the prior's letter to the bishop that Durham scholars elected at Merton for a probationary period had not been admitted as Fellows when they had completed their year and a half ; 'and now', observes the prior, 'there are in Merton only three scholars from Northumbria (wider than the diocese), and these fear that, if your grace does not help, they will be expelled because of the complaints which they have sent you'. These and other letters in the same register show that monks of Durham maintained their own secular scholars in the University, and sometimes used the monk-scholars of Durham College to convey messages to and generally look after, the seculars of their maintenance. 'Can the Principal of X College be induced to take my scholar on half commons ?' one will ask (*littera ut ponatur puer ad dimidias communas*). 'I have tried', comes back the answer : 'I did all I could with the said Principal who in truth replied that he would not grant this to his own uterine brother beyond the beginning of the year, since he does not know what and how many residents he will have in his hall then'. 'I know', the writer adds darkly, 'that W. and all the scholars from our parts (*patrie*) who draw their commons there propose to evacuate that hall at the end of the year, so there is little hope in that quarter. But the said W. promised me faithfully that if he became principal of any hall next year (which he firmly hopes to do), he would see that your lad had first claim to half commons.'<sup>1</sup> The keen—almost Scottish—interest of the *patria* in its own secular students at the University appears in an attractive letter of congratulation addressed to a northern graduate at Oxford. 'Truly, if I am not mistaken, Rome was not happier when Megurca (?) Jugurtha was captured, or Paris when he abducted Helen, or Jason when he got the Golden Fleece, or Ulysses when he beheld Penelope, or the Holy Fathers at the advent of the Messiah than I was when I heard news of the

<sup>1</sup> *Oxford Formularies*, i, 237.

standing (*continencia*) which your reverence has achieved and of your other gracious successes.'<sup>1</sup>

Provision was the cry of the secular clerk who stayed for any considerable length of time in the University. Many had to go down before taking a degree at all ; not a few had to leave before they achieved the higher status they were seeking. The letters preserved in the *Formulary*, MS. Bodley, Selden Supra 66, show the *Prior studentium* at Oxford asking a bishop to send back to the University two clerks who were bachelors in the higher faculties.<sup>2</sup> In several of the letter books containing University material requests for the return of promising graduates occur. Provision is the theme running through the letters in Rylands Latin MS. No. 394, which belongs to the late fourteenth-early fifteenth centuries, the compiler of which was most of all interested in the struggling clerk. One such announces with joy that he has escaped from his 'servile and weak condition' and become a rector : but for this purpose, speedy ordination is required, and this must be arranged. Another man, evidently a guardian or patron, writes to a confidential friend asking him, since news has come that the church of C. is vacant, to provide for his clerk : the friend answers that he is just two hours too late (*per duas horiculas*), for the benefice has been snapped up by a royal nominee.<sup>3</sup> The problem of provision was not confined to the two English Universities : it was one of the major issues faced by the Council of Constance. From the letters of Peter of Pulka, dean of the Faculty of Theology in the University of Vienna,<sup>4</sup> we learn that representatives of Vienna discussed the matter with their opposite numbers from the other German Universities, and that the problem was handed to the original committee on reform. If, as it had been suggested, Papal provisions were to be abolished, what would happen to the University graduate who looked to the Papacy for his maintenance ? Would ordinary collators be able or willing to provide for him ? The frequent occurrence of this theme in Peter's letters is highly significant. In another context I have pointed

<sup>1</sup> *Oxford Formularies*, i, 334.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 212-213.

<sup>3</sup> *A Medieval Treatise on Letter-writing*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Firnhaber, *Archiv. für Kunde oesterreichischen Geschichtsquellen*, t. XV.

to the great importance of the University roll of petitions by graduates to the Curia and to the effect upon the Universities of the attempt to restrict such practices. It is impossible to judge the economic position of the later medieval University graduate aright, unless regard be had to the difficulties he experienced in securing provision and the serious effects caused by the English statutory curtailment of the practice of petitioning Rome.

It must not be thought that such claims to promotion were made only on behalf of, or by, the younger bachelors or junior regents who aimed at incepting in a higher Faculty. Very high dignitaries, who had a good conceit of themselves, had no hesitation in advancing their claims ; the University roll included the names of the most prominent senior members. In the notebook of William Swan, the English proctor at the Roman Curia during the first thirty years of the fifteenth century, there is a long memorandum, probably drawn up by Swan himself, in support of the case for provision to a bishopric put forward by a distinguished client ; and that client was Master Richard Dereham, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, 1404-1408. The main facts of his career are well-known. He came from the diocese of Norwich, had been Chancellor of Cambridge in 1390-1391, was a Fellow of Gonville Hall, and, from 1399, Warden of the King's Hall. He was dean of St. Martin-le-Grand and held several prebends. He was a trusted diplomatic servant of Henry IV, to judge from the fact that in 1404 parliament demanded his exclusion from the royal household. In 1406 when Bishop Henry Despenser of Norwich, died, the King (according to Dereham's own version) wanted to appoint the Cambridge Chancellor. On 3 September, the *congé d'éire* was issued to the chapter, but on 14 September the Prior of Norwich, Alexander Totington, was elected, promptly to be imprisoned at Windsor for so manifest an act of defiance by the chapter. The death of Innocent VII in November, 1406, improved Dereham's chances of gaining possession of the see. Gregory XII ordered an inquiry into the merits of the rival candidates, Antoine de Challant, Cardinal of St. Cecilia, being commissary for the investigation. The merits and admirable qualities of Dereham were accordingly set forth in a memorandum for which the Chancellor himself

provided the facts. Each point claimed by him in his own favour was based on public notoriety.

Significantly, Master Richard Dereham's first claim was his work for the revocation of the Statute of Provisors in Richard II's reign (1390). In the time of Pope Boniface IX, the memorandum states, the excellent doctor Bartholomew de Novaria, censitorial advocate, and the Abbot of Nonantula were sent as ambassadors to England, so as to get the Statute against Provisors abolished and revoked, and then the said Master Richard, as the most excellent person available, was sent by the University of Cambridge to plead, along with the said ambassadors, for the revocation of the said Statute ; and for six consecutive years, in every parliament, he laboured strenuously, with all his might, on behalf of the University for the revocation of the same Statute. Three paragraphs are then devoted to his academic career. He had studied in the University for over 20 years, and obtained his doctorate, 'with the rigour of examination'. As the result of his learning and the gravity of his deportment, the venerable congregation of doctors and masters of the University elected him to be their chancellor, and while in that office he ruled the University well and by his strenuous efforts preserved its rights, privileges and honours. After emphasizing his close relationship with Henry IV, before whom he had said the canonical hours for six years and celebrated mass daily, having also been chosen to hear the king's confessions more frequently than any other, the memorandum points out the value to the Curia of Dereham in his dual capacity of defender of ecclesiastical liberty and trusted servant of the King. This is done by stressing the fact that, because he stood so high in the royal favour and at the same time saw that the Statute of Provisors prevented petitioners from accepting expectatives from Rome, he succeeded in obtaining from the King a charter, known as a royal letter patent, for all graduates and graduands in perpetuity, that they might be allowed to sue for expectative graces in spite of the Statute. On account of his request for this charter in favour of petitioners to Rome, Master Richard has suffered manifold insults and humiliations at the hands of many persons.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bodleian Lib., MS. Arch. Seld. B. 23, fos. 113v.-114.

Dereham's advocacy on behalf of the University graduate is an interesting point, though the facts he gives may have been somewhat stretched. In 1399 a licence, still in existence at Cambridge, was issued to the Chancellor and Scholars enabling them to petition Rome according to the form of the recent moderation of the Statute, and Cambridge accordingly sent a roll to the Pope. It is, however, difficult to infer from the working of the patent that Dereham's 'charter' was in one sense a *perpetual* licence to send such petitions or that it conveyed any such hopes. Cardinal Challant was unconvinced by the eloquent testimonial. On 21st January, 1407, Alexander Totington was papally provided to Norwich, and in the end Henry IV had to accept him.

Let us return to the matter of the Durham complaint. It reflects the fierce struggles that arose in fourteenth-century Oxford between northern and southern students, struggles which had led to the migration of the northerners to Stamford. The *boreales* were not forgiven for their departure, and after the trouble was over, bitter memories and antagonisms remained, to break forth on occasions. In the second place, it shows how easy it was for serious disputes to arise over the election of scholars in a college. One in particular that disturbed the life of an academic community for a number of years came to a head during Archbishop Chichele's metropolitical visitation of Lincoln diocese in 1421. Ten years previously Oriel College had been the scene of great tension over the election of John Rote to the provostship, a dispute undoubtedly connected with the fierce division in the college between supporters and opponents of Archbishop Arundel when he visited the University in 1411. In 1416 one of the Fellows who had been deliberately excluded from the election lodged a tutorial appeal with Chichele, as the result of which Rote had to resign. Now in 1426, the injunctions which Chichele issued as the result of his visitation<sup>1</sup> (performed by commissary) contained as their first provision the requirement that 'there shall not be in the said College at the same time more than two scholars who are natives of the same vill, city, county

<sup>1</sup> *Oriel Deeds*, ed. C. L. Shadwell and H. E. Salter (Oxf. Hist. Soc., 1926), pp. 58-61.

or diocese', the provost not to be included, and that no election was to be made in the absence of the provost. Among the Oriel deeds printed by Shadwell and Salter is the inquiry that led to the expulsion, by the Archbishop's commissaries, of two Fellows of the college, John Bedminster and Robert Norton, who had created a faction, vigorously opposed the provost (Nicholas Henry) elected by the majority, and proceeded to a degree of violence surprising only to those who think of the average medieval academic as possessed of 'a heart resigned, submissive, meek'. In the charges which the majority of the Fellows brought against Bedminster and Norton the matter of the scholarship elections forms only one of the grievances, but the issue is clear: the two arraignees had been anxious to introduce their own nominees against the choice of the majority, and when opposed, had resorted to the lawless acts catalogued in the indictment. Bedminster was charged with giving college books and property as pledges for loans he had received from University chests; with taking the M.A. without licence from his society; with being familiar with 'night-wanderers'; with disturbing the common table on several occasions by pulling off the table-cloth and everything on it; with refusing to return books he had borrowed from the library; with frequenting taverns till 10 p.m. and then either forcing his way into college, or else tampering with the bolts of the college gates to prevent them being shut against him; with threatening the President when he tried to keep the gates; with sleeping out of college and consorting with women; and with introducing certain scholars into the college against the will of the President. Norton was confronted with charges of like gravity. He had refused to do any study in logic or philosophy for the theological degree he was seeking; he had received the farm of Aberford (York diocese) appropriated to the college, up to the sum of 20*l.*, without licence, and refused to hand it over; he had thirty books out of the library, which he declined to return; he had been a sower of discord in the college at Herry's election, when he threatened the other Fellows; last year he had forcibly introduced into college certain Bachelors of Arts and at supper time had brought them to the common table and fed them on victuals prepared for the

commoners and others staying in the college ; and so forth.<sup>1</sup> Obviously, it would be a mistake to regard all these charges as proven : yet, the nature of the complaints with their bearing upon elections demonstrates the dangers that might arise in a small society from faction of this kind, arising out of incompatible views about the recruitment of its members and superiors. Such events must be set against the economic background, poverty and competition outside the college, security and rewards within. It was to extend the privileges of a lengthened and more ordered life of study that Chichele created, in his memorial to those who had fallen in the French wars, his *Collegium animarum*.

To relieve the poverty of scholars at either University funds had been left from time to time by individual benefactors for the establishment of chests. These were mainly loan funds, each with its separate statutes prescribing the conditions of disbursement, and were an important means of alleviating temporary distress or embarrassment. Though most historians of the universities mention them, no authoritative study of the various chests has so far been written : they certainly deserve investigation. One of the earliest at Oxford must have been St. Frideswide's Chest, founded in 1284 by Robert Grosseteste out of the money paid by the burgesses of Oxford as amends for an attack on the scholars of the University. Statutes for subsequent chests followed the lines of Grosseteste's wording : the moneys therein could be ' given under lawful pledge or caution to the indigent scholars of the University, unbefenced or beneficed, up to an income of 10 marks ', with the added proviso when the loan was contracted, that if within a year from the time when the money was disbursed the loan was not redeemed, the keepers of the chest might realise the pledge, recoup themselves from the sale and pay any balance as the debtor should direct, or, if he died intestate, distribute the proceeds for his soul. The borrower was to draw up a written undertaking that on receipt of the money he would renounce all legal action of any sort against the Chancellor and obey his instructions in all things. In other words, he borrowed money under conditions

<sup>1</sup> *Oriel Deeds*, pp. 47 f.

prescribed by the University. Most of the regulations for the chests at Oxford state the amount that can be borrowed by the varying grades of scholars ; provide for the appointment of two recent masters as *custodes*, and give instructions about the pledge (*cautiones* or *pignora*) to be received and the account that is to be kept. Some interesting points emerge from the texts of these regulations.

As valuables of various kinds were deposited with the chest for security, it was necessary to have professional valuers in the University. Their services were in any case needed when a scholar died in the town, for the Chancellor had jurisdiction over his will and a 'faithful inventory' was required. Most of all it was necessary to know the value of the pledge deposited, and as this was frequently a book, both at Cambridge and at Oxford, the *stationarii* or stationers, who were expert in this line, became the permanent clerks of the chests. They made the valuation, advised borrowers, and, as we hear, sometimes were not too scrupulous in selling pledges left unredeemed. Originally a stationer was a tradesman with a fixed booth or bookstall, like David in the market-place at Cambridge. He may have copyists and even illuminators working for him, for it was his business to provide books for the scholars at a fixed tariff, get them bound and repaired, and frequently act as an intermediary between buyer and seller when the latter had a book to dispose of. The stationers, because of their position as valuers and as providers of essential texts and commentaries, were regular University officials and came within the Chancellor's jurisdiction. Both in the Cambridge Grace Book A and in the Statuta Antiqua of Oxford (before 1380) there is plenty of information about them. At Oxford the oath administered to them and the regulations they had to observe show to what temptations they might be exposed. When they sold a pledge they were bound to restore the money immediately to the chest, even if the keepers did not ask them to do so. Failure to do this may have been the reason why the Cambridge stationers Wake and Fydyon (1479-1482) owed the chests such large sums. After his death in 1480, Wake *multas pecuniae debet diversis cistis*. When Fydyon died, Grace Book B minutes that the University authorities

extracted from the common chest 12*l.* for the repair of several chests that were in low water (*in decasu existencium*) and repaid the money from the sale of Fydyon's effects. The stationers were not allowed to part with any pledge exposed for sale on approval for more than ten days. In the statute for the Chichele Chest at Oxford, a prospective buyer of the *pignus* could inspect it for eight days, but had to return it after that. One can easily imagine that a chest might become a sort of lending library. No stationer was allowed to sell any vendible goods in the chest without permission of the Chancellor or his commissary, the proctors and the keepers of the chest, and when he sold a pledge, he was bound to sell it fairly to a buyer in the University and particularly not abroad (*ad partes transmarinas maxime*). The valuation of the pledge must be made honestly, and the keepers must not sell without a proper valuation.

In spite of these undertakings, it is evident that the University was not always in a position to control its chests, or such would seem to be the conclusion to be drawn from the preamble to the regulations for the Audley fund (200 marks left by Bishop Edmund Audley of Salisbury) in which Archbishop Warham declared that he had reinforced the Chichele Chest, *nuper spoliata*, with Audley's bequest.<sup>1</sup> In the regulations for the Fen Chest (1511) the keepers were ordered to have an indenture made when the sale of any pledge took place, one part to go to the stationers, the other to remain in the chest. It is unlikely that minor depredations accounted for the 'spoliation' of the *cista de Chichele* : there was probably a larger raid. On 9th November, 1457, the bailsmen of John Dyer, parish clerk of St. Mary's, Oxford, and George Davy, chaplain, undertook in the Chancellor's court to produce the two men, whenever called upon, to answer for abstracting (*ablatione*) 100*l.* from the Danvers Chest.<sup>2</sup> This is a large sum : whether the defendants had done so, and what was their plea, we do not know ; but the Chichele Chest may have suffered a similar fate. It would, however, be hazardous in the absence of evidence to suspect misappropriation of funds. One chest, with much of its funds out on loan and various new

<sup>1</sup> *Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis*, ed. Gibson, p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> *Registrum Cancellarii Oxoniensis*, ed. Salter, i. 388.

demands to meet, may have borrowed from another and not have been able to repay.

I make no apology for dwelling so long upon the economic difficulties of the University clerk, from undergraduates at one end to doctors at the other. We shall not appreciate the significance of much that is contained in the statutes of both Universities unless his needs are considered; and in so doing we are brought face to face with one of the greatest problems confronting the medieval church, the problem of provision. It was appreciation of these needs that in the end converted the Universities from being assemblages of inns and *hospicia* into communities of colleges and greatly diminished the 'non-collegiate' elements. A modern university with its halls and its large body of students unattached to any foundation comes much nearer to the medieval pattern.

## THE UNITY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.<sup>1</sup>

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FOR too long there has been a tendency to split the Bible into separate units, which are then set over against one another in sharp antithesis. The New Testament has been set over against the Old Testament, and not seldom the Old Testament has been regarded as an encumbrance to the Christian faith, which were best got rid of. Within the New Testament the Gospels and Paul have been set over against one another in terms of almost complete contrast, and within the Old Testament the Law and the Prophets have been similarly treated. The thesis of this lecture is that this has been carried too far, and that it has had disastrous consequences for the theological understanding of the Bible. For while our concern is primarily with the Old Testament, which alone figures in the title of the lecture, the interpretation of the New Testament is also involved.<sup>2</sup>

It is perhaps necessary to say at the outset what is not meant by the unity of the Old Testament. It is not meant that there is any uniformity of message and outlook throughout the Old Testament, and still less throughout the Bible. It is not meant that the teaching of one part of the Bible has to be read back into another, to make all say the same thing. It is recognized that there is a wide variety of outlook and emphasis amongst the writers of the Bible, and that there are real differences between

<sup>1</sup> A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 14th of November, 1945.

<sup>2</sup> I have treated of some aspects of the present subject in 'Hattōrah-wehannebī'īm' = 'The Law and the Prophets', in *Melilah*, vol. i, pp. 185-191 (University of Manchester Press, 1944), and in some of the chapters of *The Re-discovery of the Old Testament*.

its various parts. But it is claimed, that the differences are often much exaggerated, and that underlying the differences there is a far greater fundamental unity than is sometimes recognized. Development in Biblical teaching is not to be denied, though it is not to be supposed that mere lapse of time of itself automatically brought development and progress. And in the development of Biblical thought we have not merely a series of moments which plot the course of the development, but rather the unfolding of what was already implicit. R. B. Y. Scott has observed that 'the relation between the Testaments is not simply one of succession and development, but one of relationship and vital continuity',<sup>1</sup> and the same is true of the relation between the parts of each Testament to one another.

The modern critical study of the Old Testament has familiarized us with the view that, broadly speaking, the Law followed the Prophets.<sup>2</sup> This has then yielded the view that the Prophets were the advocates of a purely spiritual religion that had no use for the sacrificial cultus,<sup>3</sup> while the creators of the Law were reactionaries who triumphed over the teaching of the Prophets,<sup>4</sup> and fastened the yoke of ceremonial observances firmly upon the Jews. That there were differences of emphasis as between the Law and the Prophets can scarcely be denied, but that they were fundamentally at variance as to the nature of religion is in the highest degree improbable. Yet to some, it may appear that the attitude to the Law and to those who were attached to it

<sup>1</sup> *The Relevance of the Prophets*, 1944, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., e.g. W. E. Addis, *Hebrew Religion to the Establishment of Judaism under Ezra*, 1906, p. 297 : 'In point of time the prophets preceded the law'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kautzsch, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Extra Volume, 4th imp., 1909, p. 686b : 'No one has any right to depreciate the merit which belongs to the above-named prophets, of having discovered the ideal of true service of God in the worship of Him in spirit and in truth, without any outward ceremonies and performances'.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, Eng. Tr., 1885, p. 423 : 'If the Priestly Code makes the cultus the principal thing, that appears to amount to a systematic decline into the heathenism which the prophets incessantly combated and yet were unable to eradicate'. Similarly, J. A. Bewer, *The Literature of the Old Testament in its Historical Development*, 1922, p. 267 : 'Religion was a matter of the cult. The earlier prophets had violently protested against such a conception of religion and rejected the entire cultic apparatus as contrary to the will of God. But they had not succeeded in the long run.'

revealed in the New Testament is a strong support to the view that it was hard and unspiritual and external.<sup>1</sup> The New Testament exalts the Prophets as those who testified of Christ, and has much to say in condemnation of the formalism of those who were devoted to the Law. But this in no sense involves the view that those who created the Law intended it to be the instrument of a formal and external religion. Still less does it mean that the Prophets, as is sometimes claimed, had no use whatever for the practices of the cultus, and that sacrifice was abolished in their teaching. For while the New Testament understandably made use of the prophetic passages which denounce sacrifice as evidence that animal sacrifice was not essential to acceptable religion, it taught that the necessity for sacrifice was really abolished in the Cross of Christ, rather than in the teaching of the prophets.

It must be admitted that the thesis of the present lecture is one that has been rejected by many distinguished scholars, for whom other scholars everywhere have the profoundest regard, though it is fair to add, that there has always been a minority who have claimed that the prophetic denunciation of sacrifice was relative and not absolute.<sup>2</sup> Of the many writers on the other side who could be cited let five suffice. J. A. Bewer, in writing of Amos, observes that 'Amos insisted that God's sole requirement was social justice. God had never required any sacrificial cult from His people at all, only righteousness, nothing

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. Kautzsch, *loc. cit.*, p. 723a : 'The gulf between the religion of the Prophets and that of the Priests' Code has been described as one that cannot be bridged. That there is, in fact, a deep gulf between the two, and that this shows itself in P in the shape of a falling away from the pure level reached by the Prophets, are truths that need be denied all the less, seeing that the teaching of Jesus certainly attached itself to the prophets, and would have the Law interpreted only in their sense and spirit.'

<sup>2</sup> Of recent representatives of this minority, to whom I am indebted, I may refer to the following : A. C. Welch, *Prophet and Priest in Old Israel*, 1936 ; W. O. E. Oesterley, *Sacrifices in Ancient Israel*, 1937, chapter xii ; C. Lattey, 'The Prophets and Sacrifice : a Study in Biblical Relativity', in *Journal of Theological Studies*, xlvi, 1941, pp. 155-165 ; H. Wheeler Robinson, 'Hebrew Sacrifice and Prophetic Symbolism', *ibid.*, xlvi, 1942, pp. 129-139 ; and J. E. Coleran, 'The Prophets and Sacrifice', in *Theological Studies*, v, 1944, pp. 411-438. I am indebted to Fr. Lattey for drawing my attention to the last of these, and to Fr. Coleran for his kindness in sending me an offprint.

else !'<sup>1</sup> And in treating of Jeremiah the same writer says : ' Jeremiah was sure that Yahweh had never commanded any sacrifices, but had required from the fathers nothing but obedience to the moral law, and that was His sole requirement now '<sup>2</sup>. E. A. Leslie, after affirming that ' by rhetorical question Amos implies that sacrifices and offering were not a part of Mosaic religion ', and that what Yahweh wants is justice, social righteousness, observes : ' This emphasis upon God's demand for righteousness, over against and in strict opposition to the whole Israelite sacrificial system, is arresting in Old testament prophecy and runs like a golden thread of unique brilliancy through the warp and woof of Israelite prophetic teaching. It represents the central and unique prophetic attitude, and it first appears clearly in the thinking of Amos. It was in this prophetic reaction to the purpose and practices of the public sacrificial cult that the distinctive nature of the Israelite prophetic message emerges.'<sup>3</sup> Leroy Waterman ascribes to Amos the teaching that ' sacrifices and offerings are useless ; their efficacy is a delusion, a false reliance '<sup>4</sup> and declares that the assumption that Amos had no idea of raising the question whether God wanted sacrifices ' belies the natural force of all his words on the subject, as well as the witness of later prophetic writers '<sup>5</sup>. Again, J. Skinner, in one of the greatest books on the Old Testament written in this century, says that the prophets taught that ' not only is sacrifice of no avail as a substitute for righteous conduct, but a perfect religious relationship is possible without sacrifice at all ' ;<sup>6</sup> and in treating of Jeremiah he says : ' The error here rebuked is not simply the practical abuse of sacrificial ritual by men who sought thus to compound for their moral delinquencies ; it is the notion that Yahweh had ever instituted sacrifice at all. The whole system, and all laws prescribing or regulating it, are

<sup>1</sup> *The Literature of the Old Testament in its Historical Development*, 1922, p. 91. Cf. H. P. Smith, *The Religion of Israel*, 1914, pp. 134 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> *Old Testament Religion in the Light of its Canaanite Background*, 1936, pp. 170 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Religion Faces the World Crisis*, 1943, p. 56.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68. Cf. also the same writer's article ' The Ethical Clarity of the Prophets ', in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, lxiv, 1945, pp. 297-307.

<sup>6</sup> *Prophecy and Religion*, 1922, p. 181.

declared to lie outside the revelation on which the national religion of Israel was based.<sup>1</sup> Yet again, Paul Volz, in a work in which the prophetic opposition to sacrifice is frequently stressed, claims, on the basis of Amos v, 25 and Jer. vii, 22f., that Moses demanded only obedience and not sacrifice,<sup>2</sup> and in his hostility to priestly religion suffers himself to write as though only the prophetic religion is represented in the Old Testament ! For he says : ‘The religion of the Old Testament, prophetic religion, is *Word Religion*, and hence the Old Testament prophetic religion stands in the sharpest contrast to priestly religion, or *Cult Religion*. Priestly religion is the religion of sacrifice ; the priest brings the gifts of men from below up to the Deity. Prophetic religion is the religion of the word ; it brings the voice of God from above down to men.’<sup>3</sup>

The passages to which appeal is made to support these positions are well known. But before we turn to examine them, let us look at some *prima facie* evidence that Law and Prophets, or Priests and Prophets, are not at such cross purposes as is alleged.

In the first place, recent study has emphasized the place of prophetic groups within the cultus. In a number of passages in the Old Testament priests and prophets are mentioned together, as though they were jointly officials of the cultus. Of British scholars Professor A. R. Johnson, of Cardiff, has given most attention to this aspect of the study of the Israelite prophets, and has recently published a careful monograph on it.<sup>4</sup> The facts he examines are recognized by many recent writers. Thus, R. B. Y. Scott writes of prophets who ‘appear to have been directly associated with the various local temples’,<sup>5</sup> while Pedersen goes so far as to treat them as regular members of the temple staff. He says : ‘We hear constantly of the connection of the Israelite prophets with the cult and the temples. . . . They constituted a stable part of the staff of the

<sup>1</sup> *Prophecy and Religion.*, p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> *Prophetengestalten des Alten Testaments*, 1938, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> *The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel*, 1944. Cf. the same writer’s ‘The Prophet in Israelite Worship’, in *Expository Times*, xlvi, 1935-1936, pp. 312-319.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

temple, and we learn that in the temple of Jerusalem they were organised under a leader who was responsible for them (Jer. xxix, 26).<sup>1</sup> A Swedish scholar, Haldar, in the latest book devoted to this subject,<sup>2</sup> goes very much farther than Johnson, and reduces all the prophets to members of the priesthood. While this goes beyond the evidence, and ignores the variety of type, function and relation to the priesthood of Israelite prophets, a more cautious scholarship may yet recognize that sharp lines of division are not to be drawn, though differences are to be recognized.<sup>3</sup> Hard lines do not divide the colours of the spectrum, yet the colours are not all to be identified. There were prophets who stood beside the priests as cultic officials, though probably serving the cultus in different ways. Prophets and prophetesses, either singly or in groups, are consulted by kings, or attached to the court, just as the Jerusalem shrine was attached to the court. To suppose that these were all false prophets, and to distinguish them thus from the true prophets, who may then be supposed to have been in fundamental opposition to the cultus as such, is to ignore the evidence.<sup>4</sup> For Isaiah was officially consulted by Hezekiah in precisely the same way, and the great canonical prophets not seldom exercised their ministry in the shrines, and we read of a complaint to the priests of Jerusalem that they do not exercise a proper discipline over Jeremiah.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the line of division between a true prophet and a false prophet is

<sup>1</sup> *Israel III-IV*, 1940, pp. 116 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Associations of Cult Prophets among the Ancient Semites*, 1945.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R. B. Y. Scott (*op. cit.*, p. 43) : 'With the great prophets such a connection with the cultus was exceptional ; but that bodies of "official prophets" continued down to the seventh century to be associated with the temple priesthood, is clear from Jer. xxvi, 8, 11, 16'. That some of the canonical prophets were cultic prophets has recently been argued by Humbert. Cf. 'Essai d'analyse de Nahoum 1<sup>2</sup>-2<sup>3</sup>', in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xliv, 1926, pp. 266-280 ; 'Le problème du livre de Nahoum', in *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, xii, 1932, pp. 1-15 ; and *Problèmes du livre d'Habacuc*, 1944.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Graham and May, *Culture and Conscience*, 1936, p. 214 : 'It has long been customary to speak of them as the "true prophets", in contradistinction to the "false prophets" who functioned within the dominant cultus and devoted their efforts to the sanctioning and the support of the existing order of life. Yet, like all such labels, these are but casual and misleading.'

<sup>5</sup> Jer. xxix, 26 f.

not one that can be drawn by any simple rule of thumb.<sup>1</sup> Graham and May would sweep aside altogether the distinction between true and false prophet in the realm of morals and philosophy, and would find it rather in the realm of social philosophy.<sup>2</sup> While I would not subscribe to this, I think there is real penetration in their observation that 'Hebrew prophetism became uniquely influential not only because of its own innate intellectual and moral vigor, but because it took its rise within a society whose people had not learned to spurn the religious cultus as a vehicle of socially valuable ideas and attitudes. It was only through the regenerative and transformative influence which critical prophecy exercised upon this cultus that its own deeper social insight was woven into the fabric of a people's life.'<sup>3</sup>

This is to recognize a difference of attitude towards the cultus on the part of those who expressed what is here called 'critical prophecy', without converting them into such radical opponents of the entire cultus that it would be hard to see why they should be called by a name which they shared with officials of the cultus.

In the second place, the simple antithesis of Priests and Prophets, or priestly religion and prophetic religion, breaks down in the recognition that within the prophetic canon what is treated as the priestly attitude finds expression. Haggai and Zechariah were in no way opposed to the cultus as such, but urged the rebuilding of the Temple, while Malachi rebuked the people for the meanness of the sacrifices they offered. Trito-Isaiah was not the enemy of the cultus, while the book of Ezekiel offers its sketch of the reformed community in terms of a life that centred in the Temple and its worship, so that Ezekiel is frequently spoken of as 'the father of Judaism', i.e. the father of priestly religion. To brush all these aside as irrelevant to the discussion of the genius and spirit of Hebrew prophecy will hardly do. For if Hebrew prophecy is first to be narrowed to mean the canonical prophets, and then narrowed still further to mean a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. what I have written in 'The Nature of Prophecy in the Light of Recent Study', in *Harvard Theological Review*, xxxviii, 1945, pp. 1-38; especially pp. 16 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 215.

selected few within this group, it would appear that what is convenient to a theory is being selected, instead of Hebrew prophecy being studied without bias. It is, of course, true that the post-exilic prophets were not of the same stature as the greater pre-exilic prophets, and it is also true that a difference of emphasis in their message is apparent. Yet it is still a prophetic emphasis.

Not seldom the exile is regarded as the great watershed, and the post-exilic prophets are treated as sharing the degenerate spirit which appears in the Law, and therefore as exponents of priestly religion rather than prophetic. But this at once suggests that the antithesis which is being drawn is not between Prophets and Law, or prophetic and priestly religion, but between the pre-exilic and the post-exilic periods, in the former of which a conflict of attitudes between the great canonical prophets on the one hand and their prophetic and priestly contemporaries on the other was seen, while in the latter was achieved the triumph of all that the great canonical prophets opposed, and the complete disappearance of their witness and attitude.

Such a view leaves too many questions unconsidered and unanswered. For it is hardly to be contested that the prophetic books were edited in the post-exilic age. This is certainly true of some, and probably true of all the books which bear the names of the great pre-exilic prophets. That there were pre-exilic collections of oracles of these prophets is highly probable, and indeed almost certain. So far as Jeremiah is concerned, we have explicit testimony that a collection of his oracles was prepared under his own direction,<sup>1</sup> and it is probable that this was one of the sources drawn on by the compiler of our present book. We cannot then deny the possibility that other prophets and their disciples may have similarly prepared collections of their oracles. Yet the fact that a single oracle is sometimes independently ascribed to two different prophets, as notably in the case of the familiar oracle about beating swords into ploughshares, ascribed to both Isaiah and Micah,<sup>2</sup> or parts of the little book of Obadiah, ascribed also to Jeremiah,<sup>3</sup> suggests that we have travelled a long way from the age of the prophets before the books which bear

<sup>1</sup> Jer. xxxvi, 32.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. ii, 2-4 and Mic. iv, 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> Obad. 1-4 and Jer. xl ix, 14-16; Obad. 5 f. and Jer. xl ix, 9 f.

their names were compiled. Moreover, other material besides oracular material has been drawn upon, some autobiographical and written in the first person, and some biographical and written in the third person.<sup>1</sup> This also suggests that our present prophetic books were compiled after the period in which the prophets lived, by writers who drew on a variety of sources. Yet again, there is not a little material in some of the books, and especially in the book of Isaiah, which is certainly of much later origin, and almost certainly of exilic or post-exilic origin. Hence the compilation of the books which bear the names of the pre-exilic prophets must be placed in the exilic or post-exilic age—though it may be repeated that this is not to deny the authenticity of much of the oracular material on which the compilers drew. In any case, it is relevant to observe that the writers who find the sharp antithesis between the pre-exilic prophets and the post-exilic priests have always recognized the post-exilic character of the prophetic books in the form in which we now have them. They have never offered any adequate explanation of their strange assumption that the post-exilic age which rejected the fundamental attitude of the pre-exilic canonical prophets to the cultus was sufficiently interested in their work to collect and edit their oracles.

It might be supposed that whereas the dominant circles of the post-exilic age favoured the priestly and anti-prophetic movement, there might well have been less influential circles which still valued the work of the older prophets and edited their oracles.<sup>2</sup> But such a supposition would break down at once. For the post-exilic age saw not alone the editing of the prophetic books, but the gathering of these books into collections, and the gradual formation of the prophetic canon of Scripture. It is not, indeed, to be supposed that there was any formal act of canonization of Scripture at this time. Such a formal act is the termination of a long process, and not its initiation. There is first of all the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Oesterley and Robinson, *An Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament*, 1934, pp. 221-232.

<sup>2</sup> E. Kautzsch supposes that survivals of prophetic attitudes are found in post-exilic psalms, and by implication regards them as quite unrelated to the outlook of their own day. He says (*op. cit.*, p. 686b): 'This Prophetalical conception was not so very quickly obliterated even in the post-exilic period, which is mostly thought of as the era of torpid, rigid legalism'.

gradual achievement of a place in the esteem of men, and the winning of the veneration which is acknowledged, and not created, by canonization. The formal act of canonization probably did not take place until towards the end of the first century A.D., when the Rabbis assembled at Jamnia reached agreement as to which books 'defiled the hands'. But we have ample evidence that the general recognition of the Old Testament as Scripture had long preceded this. The formal agreement as to which books constituted Scripture was reached by the leaders of Judaism, just as the general recognition had been given by the adherents of Judaism—of that Judaism which is supposed to have rejected the non-cultic religion for which these pre-exilic prophets are thought to have stood. Why, then, should the oracles of the pre-exilic prophets have been not only edited, but accorded this recognition and esteem by circles to which their supposedly non-cultic religion ought to have been anathema?

Indeed, the position is even worse than this. The Minor Prophets formed a single collection in the Hebrew Canon, and are reckoned not as twelve units out of a canon of thirty-nine units, but as one unit out of a canon of twenty-four units. They were probably inscribed on a single roll, and in any case, since they are reckoned as a unity, they must have been preserved together by people who venerated them as a unity. Yet, within this little collection we find Amos and Hosea and Micah, which are supposed to exemplify the pre-exilic type of religion, purely spiritual and anti-cultic, and also Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, which are supposed to exemplify the post-exilic type of religion, formal and ritual. In the same way another single collection bears the name of Isaiah, but contains material not only of widely separated dates, but of these supposedly contrasted types. It contains oracles of the eighth-century Isaiah, supposedly anti-priestly and anti-cultic, and oracles of Trito-Isaiah, pro-priestly and pro-cultic. No explanation is offered of the strange supposition that the same circles should cherish these collections, without apparently realizing how inconsistent they were.

Again, the book of Deuteronomy is commonly believed to be the Law-book of Josiah's reform, and to have been compiled in the seventh century and to rest on the teachings of the eighth-

century prophets. I know that this view has been challenged on two sides during the last quarter of a century. On the one hand, Kennett<sup>1</sup> and Hölscher,<sup>2</sup> with some followers, have brought the book of Deuteronomy down to a later date, while on the other hand, Oestreicher<sup>3</sup> and Welch<sup>4</sup> have carried it up to an earlier date, and Professor Robertson<sup>5</sup> has joined them in this. It is unnecessary to discuss this question here, and while I personally still accept the seventh-century date, my personal view is immaterial. For the school that has made almost a dogma of the antithesis of prophetic and priestly religion has accepted, almost without exception, the view that Deuteronomy was prophetic in its inspiration and a seventh-century work. It is quite certain that the book of Deuteronomy emphasizes the moral and social values that appear in the eighth-century prophets, and calls for the same religious purity and unwavering loyalty to Yahweh alone that those prophets demanded. But the law of Deuteronomy knows no hostility to the sacrifices of the cultus. Skinner, in the great book to which I have already referred, claims that the sacrificial element is not prominent, or emphasized, in Deuteronomy, and that the aim of the writers of this book was not to insist on the necessity of sacrifice, but to regulate it.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, the sacrificial element is there, as he admits, and a code which aimed at the centralizing of the cultus in a single sanctuary was manifestly not hostile to the cultus as such. If, *ex hypothesi*, the book of Deuteronomy reflects the teaching of the eighth-century prophets, it might be supposed that its authors would have understood those teachings, and that, therefore, its recognition of the legitimate place of a purified and regulated sacrificial cultus, not as the sole expression of religious loyalty, but validated by the expression of the fundamental loyalty of spirit to Yahweh in the reflection of His will in all life, reflects the like recognition by the eighth-century prophets.

<sup>1</sup> *Deuteronomy and the Decalogue*, 1920.

<sup>2</sup> 'Komposition und Ursprung des Deuteronomiums', in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xl, 1922, pp. 161-255.

<sup>3</sup> *Das Deuteronomische Grundgesetz*, 1923.

<sup>4</sup> *The Code of Deuteronomy*, 1924.

<sup>5</sup> 'Temple and Torah', in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxvi, 1941, pp. 183-205, and separately. <sup>6</sup> *Prophecy and Religion*, 1922, pp. 183 f.

The simple assumption that the creators of Deuteronomy failed to understand the vital point of the teaching of the prophets on whom they rested is as unsatisfying as the assumption that the post-exilic community rejected the essential thing that these prophets stood for, and yet edited and collected and venerated their oracles, without realizing the crass stupidity of what they were doing.

Nor is it true that the Law was as unconcerned for spiritual religion as is so often supposed. When our Lord was asked which was the first commandment, He chose a word from Deuteronomy, which we all recognize to be profoundly spiritual. 'Hear, O Israel ! The Lord our God, the Lord is one. And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.'<sup>1</sup> It is easy to credit this noble word to the prophets by the recognition that Deuteronomy, though itself a part of the Law, yet reflects the prophetic teaching in the way that has been indicated. But let it not be forgotten that post-exilic Judaism, that is supposed to have been so hard and unspiritual in its foundation and in its practice, singled out this word for unique honour, and to this day there is no word in the Old Testament which Judaism holds in higher esteem. Can it be quite so axiomatic that Judaism was unspiritual and anti-prophetic ?

The other word which our Lord culled from the Law to attach to this was taken from the Law of Holiness, which is generally believed to have been embodied in the post-exilic Priestly Code, though itself probably older than the main body of that Code. It runs : 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself'.<sup>2</sup> That is a principle which might well have stood in one of the pre-exilic prophets. Indeed, the whole context in which it stands might well have come from one of the prophets : 'Thou shalt not oppress thy neighbour, nor rob him. The wages of a day-labourer shall not remain with thee all night until the morning. . . . Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgement. Thou shalt not respect the person of the poor, nor honour the person of the powerful, but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbour. . . . Thou shalt not hate thy

<sup>1</sup> Deut. vi, 4 f.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. xix, 18.

brother in thy heart . . . but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'<sup>1</sup> And all rests on a religious motive and inspiration, precisely as the prophetic utterances do. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. I am the Lord.'<sup>2</sup> Just as Amos saw that because God is just they who worship Him must reflect His justice or repudiate Him, and Hosea saw that because God is a God of *hesed*, loyal to His covenant and abounding in goodness towards His people, they who worship Him must be loyal to their covenant with Him and must reflect His spirit in their dealings with one another, and as Isaiah saw that because God is a God of holiness they who worship Him must be purified of their sin and reflect His holiness, so here the Law perceives that the corollary of the worship of God must be the reflection of this high spirit in the life of the people.

Nor should we forget the Psalter. There is a disposition to-day to recognize a large pre-exilic element in this collection, that contrasts greatly with the view of a generation ago, when practically all the psalms were dated in the post-exilic period, and the greater part of them assigned a somewhat crowded home in the Maccabæan age. The tendency to earlier dating is not all gain, indeed, even from the conservative point of view. For not seldom there goes with it a tendency to find the Psalms primitive as well as early, and to read them as embodying the spells of a magic-loving and superstitious people, or as the surviving rituals of the old fertility cult that is condemned as Baalism in the Old Testament. But speaking generally, while to-day there is a reaction from the late dating of the individual psalms that held the field at the beginning of the century, there is still a recognition that the collection of the Psalms into the present Psalter was the work of the post-exilic age, and a recognition that the Psalms were probably used in the worship of the post-exilic Temple, as they have continued to be in the worship of the Synagogue. Hence here, precisely as in the case of the pre-exilic prophets, we have the evidence of post-exilic esteem. The Psalter is, therefore, a monument to the interest of the supposedly unspiritual Judaism in the things of which it sings. And if the individual psalms were written in the post-exilic period, as the

<sup>1</sup> Lev. xix, 13 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. xix, 18.

school that set Prophets and Law-givers over against one another believed, the situation would be very much worse. The Psalms have ministered, in Synagogue and Church, to spiritual religion, and they are read most naturally as spiritual compositions, written out of spiritual experience and to minister to such experience. And if that is so, then the post-exilic age that treasured and collected them could not have been dead to spiritual things, and the leaders of Judaism, who used them in the corporate worship, could not have been so unspiritual as they have often appeared in modern works.<sup>1</sup>

If now we examine both Prophets and Law in the light of this *prima facie* evidence that they are not wholly at cross purposes, we may get a truer understanding of both. We may find that when the pre-exilic prophets denounced sacrifice, it was not sacrifice as such that they condemned, but the particular sacrifices that their fellows offered, and that they declared them futile because they were invalidated by the spirit of the offerers, and by the life out of which they sprang and to which they led.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. Eichrodt, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, i, 1933, p. 191: 'Man meint, seine (i.e. Yahweh's) schützende Nähe geniessen, ja an seiner durch den Kult vermittelten Gemeinschaft sich berauschen zu können, ohne sich um die ins praktische Leben eingreifenden Grundgesetze des göttlichen Heerschers zu kümmern'. Also *ibid.*, p. 193: 'Denn wo man die Gottesfurcht im Verkehr von Mensch zu Mensch missachtet und Gott nur in Kult sucht, da macht man ihn zur unpersönlichen magischen Kraftquelle, die man mit geschäftiger Routine und ohne Ehrfurcht behandeln kann, da entzieht man sich selber mit dem Zentrum seiner Persönlichkeit und Existenz, mit seinem Willen, dem Anspruch des göttlichen Herrschers'. This impersonal and magical view of the observances of religion derived in no small degree from the Canaanite fertility cult, which had so largely set its stamp upon the popular religion. Cf. R. B. Y. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 138: 'There could be no question of a personal and moral relationship between the nature gods and their worshippers, or of any meaning in events beyond their indication that the gods were for the moment pleased, indifferent or angry. This religion required the performance of certain "religious" acts and the observance of certain taboos; the only sin was failure to fulfil the cultic requirements. For the whole apparatus of the cult was essentially a kind of sympathetic magic, which, if correctly performed, would harness the divine forces for the satisfaction of human desires.'

<sup>2</sup> That the Psalms are spiritual compositions dating from the post-exilic age has been commonly allowed, even where their testimony is discounted in estimating the quality of post-exilic Judaism. Thus Kautzsch suggests that the elements in the Psalter which are thought to be inconsistent with the attitude of the priestly school only found their way into the collection by being given a forced interpretation. See *loc. cit.*, p. 686b.

When Hosea said : ‘ I desire *hesed* and not sacrifice ’,<sup>1</sup> was he really making a categorical denial, as is so often supposed, that any sacrifice could have meaning for God ? The principle of parallelism, that has long been so well recognized in Hebrew poetry, should make us pause before drawing such a conclusion. For the parallel line runs : ‘ And the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings.’ This should suggest that the first line expresses a comparison, and means that God’s demand for *hesed* is more fundamental than the demand for sacrifice. What he asks is not mere sacrifice, sacrifice that is unrelated to the spirit of him who brings it, but an inner quality of spirit without which the sacrifice is meaningless. It is an idiomatic Hebrew way of expressing comparison to set two things in sharp antithesis in this manner, using what Father Lattey has called ‘ the relative negative ’.<sup>2</sup> C. J. Cadoux draws attention to the same thing, and speaks of ‘ the use of an unreal negative to emphasize an important affirmative, i.e. the use of “ not ”, when what is really meant is “ not only ”’.<sup>3</sup> These writers cite such New Testament verses as ‘ Whosoever receiveth me receiveth not me but Him that sent me ’,<sup>4</sup> ‘ My teaching is not mine, but His that sent me ’,<sup>5</sup> and such Old Testament verses as Joseph’s word to his brothers : ‘ It was not you that sent me hither, but God ’.<sup>6</sup> In all of these cases, it is clear that the negative might be translated ‘ not so much ’. Or again, we may note that our Lord is reported to have said : ‘ If any man cometh unto me, and hateth not his own father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters . . . he cannot be my disciple ’.<sup>7</sup> Did He mean this literally ? Did He, who called men to love their enemies, really demand that they should hate those most closely bound to them ? No one would maintain it, or dream of interpreting this verse save in comparative terms. There is nothing surprising, therefore, in finding the same idiomatic usage in the passage in Hosea.

<sup>1</sup> Hos. vi, 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Theological Studies*, xlvi, 1941, p. 155.

<sup>3</sup> *Expository Times*, lii, 1940-1941, p. 378. I am indebted to Fr. Coleran’s paper for reminding me of this article of Dr. Cadoux’s, on ‘ The use of Hyperbole in Scripture ’.

<sup>4</sup> Mk. ix, 37.

<sup>5</sup> Jn. vii, 16.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. xlv, 8.

<sup>7</sup> Lk. xiv, 26.

The force of this contention might be turned by a different, though quite legitimate, rendering of the second line of the verse from Hosea. It might be rendered : 'I desire *hesed* and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God without (lit. away from) burnt-offerings'. That this is not the real meaning here can only be rendered probable by the study of the other prophetic passages about sacrifice. For the more natural interpretation, which stands above, is in harmony with the teaching of all the prophets, and with Deuteronomy's interpretation of the teaching of the prophets.

When Amos says :

' I hate, I despise your feasts,  
And I take no delight in your gatherings.  
For though ye offer me burnt-offerings,  
Or your meal offerings, I will not accept them,  
Nor look at the peace-offerings of your fatlings '

he does not mean us to stop there. He continues :

' But let justice well up as waters,  
And righteousness as a mighty stream.'<sup>1</sup>

Here again we have expressed in absolute terms a contrast which is really more complex. His thought is not that God wants this and not that, but that it is for lack of this that that is meaningless. More vital than the forms of the cultus is the doing of God's will in life, for it is this that reveals the spirit in which the others are performed. He proceeds :

' Was it sacrifices and offerings that ye brought me  
In the wilderness those forty years,  
O house of Israel ? '<sup>2</sup>

The commentators suppose that Amos is here denying that any sacrifices were offered in the period of the Wandering, and are somewhat embarrassed to square such a statement with fact. For there is no reason whatever to suppose that Mosaic Yahwism was entirely non-sacrificial, and every reason to accept the tradition, itself older than the time of Amos, that it was sacrificial. Köhler says that the implication of Amos's question is historically false, but in so far as it is true, it means that sacrifices were

<sup>1</sup> Amos v, 21-24.

<sup>2</sup> Amos v, 25.

instituted by man and not God.<sup>1</sup> But of this the passage contains not even a hint. But if Amos's meaning is that sacrifices that are not the organ of the spirit are meaningless and an offence to God, then he was not talking patent nonsense. For then he meant : ' Was it mere sacrifices and offerings, sacrifices and offerings that were an end in themselves and not the expression of your loyalty of spirit, that you offered in the wilderness days ? '

This is the view which was taken nearly half a century ago by D. B. Macdonald,<sup>2</sup> and it seems to me to accord excellently with the context and with the character and arrangement of the Hebrew, as well as with the general teaching of Amos. What he demands is that sacrifice shall not be invalidated by the spirit in which it is offered.<sup>3</sup> If God is a God of Justice, then injustice must be an offence to Him, and therefore sin. What is the use, therefore, of offering a sacrifice which ostensibly asks for the forgiveness of sin, if one is inflexibly determined to continue to practise injustice, and therefore to sin ? The heart denies what

<sup>1</sup> *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 1936, p. 170. Cf. Lindblom (*Profetismen i Israel*, 1934, p. 432), who declines to discuss whether the implied negative answer was historically right or wrong, but who finds Amos's meaning to be that a sacrificial ritual was completely immaterial to the true religion of Yahweh.

<sup>2</sup> ' Old Testament Notes. 2. Amos v, 25 ', in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xviii, 1899, pp. 214 f. Macdonald notes the emphatic position of *sacrifices and offerings* in the Hebrew, and the unusual verb for *bring*, and argues that the meaning is ' Was it only flesh-sacrifices and meal-offerings that ye brought me in the wilderness ? ' where the answer expected is : ' We brought more than this ; we brought true worship of heart and righteousness '. Oesterley reaches a similar result by another way. He believes the answer expected in the question was an affirmative one and that the meaning is ' Did not your forefathers offer me sacrifices which were acceptable because they were offered in faithfulness and sincerity ? ' where the implication is ' Why, then, do you offer sacrifices which, on account of your sins and on account of your false ideas about your God Yahweh, are worthless and unacceptable ? ' (*Sacrifices in Ancient Israel*, 1937, p. 195.) A. Van Hoonacker had earlier held that the affirmative answer was expected, but found the emphasis of the question on the ' forty years '. Despite their sacrifices they had been doomed to wander for forty years, and excluded from the Promised Land. So now, despite their sacrifices, they would suffer the exile to which vv. 26 f. refer (*Les douze petits prophètes*, 1908, p. 252).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. M. P. Smith, *The Prophets and their Times*, 2nd. ed., revised by W. A. Irwin, 1941, p. 62 : ' It was not ritual as such to which he objected, but rather the practice of ritual by people who believed that thereby they set in motion magical forces and insured for themselves well-being and happiness '. Cf. 1st ed., 1925, p. 50.

the sacrifice professes to say to God. Or what is the use of offering a sacrifice which asks of God His communion, if the offerer will have none of that communion? For just as Isaiah perceived in his call that moral impurity cannot live in God's presence, and that when he stood in that presence either he must perish with his sin, or his sin must be taken from him that it alone might perish, so Amos perceived that the man of injustice, who was determined to cling to his way, could not know communion with a God of justice. 'Can two walk together except they be agreed?' he asked.<sup>1</sup> If they go to a different rendezvous they cannot meet, and the only rendezvous where a man can meet with God is marked by justice, where the unjust can only stand when he is cleansed of his injustice. If they walk along different roads they cannot walk together, and the only road along which a man can walk with God is the highway of righteousness. Communion with God is conditioned by the spirit. And hence the sacrifice that asks for communion, but that is not the organ of the spirit, is meaningless and futile, since its cry is repudiated by the heart of the offerer. That does not mean that the sacrifice that is the organ of the spirit is equally futile. The pre-exilic prophets did not discuss that sort of sacrifice, because that was not the sort they witnessed.<sup>2</sup>

So with the similar passages in the other prophets.

'Of what use to me is the multitude of your sacrifices?  
 Saith the Lord;  
 I am sated with burnt-offerings of rams,  
 And the fat of stalled beasts.  
 The blood of bullocks and of sheep,  
 And of he-goats I do not delight in.  
 When ye come to see my face,  
 Who hath asked this at your hands?  
 Trample my courts no more!  
 Vain is the bringing of meal-offerings;  
 The smoke of sacrifice an abomination to me . . .  
 And when ye spread out your hands,  
 I will hide mine eyes from you;

<sup>1</sup> Amos iii, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. R. de Vaux, *Initiation Biblique* (ed. A. Robert and A. Tricot), 1939, p. 683 : 'S'ils (i.e. the prophets) paraissent le (i.e. the cult) condamner absolument, c'est par une manière de paradoxe ; ce qu'ils répudient, c'est le formalisme extérieur des gens "bien pensants" et "pratiquants", qui se croient quittes envers la morale et la piété s'ils ont régulièrement accompli les rites'.

Yea, though ye multiply prayer,  
 I shall not be listening.  
 Your hands are full of blood.  
 Wash you ! Make you clean !  
 Put away the evil of your deeds  
 From before mine eyes !  
 Cease to do evil !  
 Learn to do well !  
 Seek justice !  
 Restrain the oppressor !  
 Give justice to the fatherless !  
 Take up the widow's cause !<sup>1</sup>

There is no more reason to suppose that Isaiah regarded all sacrifice as wrong in itself than to suppose that he regarded prayer as alien to true religion. Both stand in a like condemnation, for he regards both as wrong when offered by men whose hands are full of blood, and who are unwilling in their hearts to turn from their evil ways. To ask for a boon and to be unwilling to receive it is to make the request a mockery, and to insult God. And it was in terms of that empty mockery that Isaiah saw all the religiosity of the worship in his day.

So again when we turn to the great passage in the book of Micah.

'With what shall I come before the Lord,  
 Or bow before God Most High ?  
 Shall I come before Him with burnt-offerings,  
 With calves of yester year ?  
 Will He be pleased with thousands of rams,  
 Or with myriads of rivers of oil ?  
 Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression.  
 The fruit of my body for the sin of my soul ?  
 He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good.  
 And what does the Lord ask from thee,  
 Save only to execute justice  
 To love the quality of *hesed*,<sup>2</sup>  
 And humbly to walk with thy God.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Isa. i, 11-17.

<sup>2</sup> The word *hesed* is always untranslatable, and nowhere more so than here. It includes the quality of loyalty—here loyalty to one's fellows—and also the quality of graciousness, as well as of mercy. There is perhaps also the flavour of loyalty to God and to the Covenant, a loyalty which is shown in the reflection of the *hesed* of God, that richest quality of His Being, which made Him choose Israel in her weakness and worthlessness, not to exploit and crush her, but to lavish on her His mercy and to rescue her from Egypt.

<sup>3</sup> Mic. vi, 6-8.

However abundant and costly the sacrifices, they are vain ; but they are vain not because they are sacrifices, but because of the lack of justice and *hesed*, and of willingness to walk humbly with God in the way in which alone He delights. Here, as elsewhere, when the prophet says by implication 'Not this, but that', he may legitimately be understood to mean 'Not this alone, for the ultimately essential is that, and that is of profounder significance than this, giving it meaning and validity'.

To this it may be replied that it would seem to carry us too far, since it would involve the conclusion that even human sacrifice could be validated by the spirit. I do not think this is really involved. For the prophetic oracle is commonly compressed, and in what seems to be a single movement of thought it says more than one thing. On the one hand, the prophet is saying that sacrifice is invalid, unless validated by the spirit ; and on the other he is saying that an invalid sacrifice is not made valid by being raised to the *n*th power of magnificence or costliness. Let it be remembered that they who sacrificed their children sacrificed them not, because they did not love them, but because they did. Such a sacrifice was always a sacrifice that hurt, and that hurt intensely. But what the prophet is saying is, that the making of the sacrifice hurt more in the wrong place, does not make it more worth while. That is a movement along the wrong line. It is in the penitence of the spirit, and the submission of the inner personality so that the offering is ultimately the offering of oneself, that the deepest cost must lie and the deepest hurt be found. Long before this prophet's time Israel's leaders had perceived that God does not want human sacrifice, as the story of Genesis xxii shows. And he is not going back on that, but rather saying that his contemporaries who were going back on it, and who were seeking to validate their offerings by their cost rather than by the spirit in which they were brought, were taking a false way.

It is often said that whatever may be the case with the other pre-exilic prophets, it is certain that Jeremiah condemned the whole sacrificial cultus, and would have swept it all away. Certainly of all the prophets he most stresses the inner and spiritual qualities of true and pure religion. He knew that

religion could continue to survive without the Temple and without sacrifices. But there is no reason to suppose that he imagined that it could only flourish when stripped of all its outer forms. Religion must have some forms of expression and of self-transmission, and the destruction of the Temple and of all existing forms would inevitably mean that if it were to live, it would have to create for itself some new forms. What Jeremiah was concerned to say was that the inner life was more vital than the forms in which it expressed itself, and that its forms must be the organ of the expression of that inner life, if they were to have any validity or meaning. And that would be just as true of any new forms that should be created as it was of existing forms. It was not because the existing forms happened to be wrong in themselves that Jeremiah denounced them, but because in his view no forms could be right in themselves. Their rightness or wrongness lay ultimately in what was brought to them, and what was received through them. Even the Covenant was meaningless to Jeremiah so long as it was something formal, with its law inscribed on tables of stone. Its law needed to be inscribed on the living tables of human hearts and personalities, and the Covenant to be something that each man entered into for himself, giving it meaning by his own loyalty of spirit. Broadly speaking, all the prophets said in effect that each generation must enter into the Covenant for itself, and bring to it its own loyalty. The Israel that was merely descended physically from the Israel of Sinai was not thereby in covenant with God, unless it entered for itself into the Covenant by its loyalty of spirit. And Jeremiah merely carried this further in the thought that each individual must make the corporate Covenant his own individual Covenant, if it was to have meaning for him.

His oft-cited words about sacrifices are commonly brought into association with those of Amos.

‘ I did not speak unto your fathers,  
Nor did I command them,  
In the day when I brought them forth  
From the land of Egypt,  
Concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices.  
But this is the word which I commanded them,  
Saying, Hearken ye to my voice,  
And I will be your God,

And ye shall be my people ;  
 And walk ye in all the way  
 Which I shall command you,  
 That it may be well with you.<sup>1</sup>

Here we have another instance of the characteristic Hebrew way of expressing the relative importance of two things—here the relative importance of sacrifice and obedience. What he means is that the supremely important fact of Sinai was not sacrifice, but the Covenant there established, and that the sacrifice Moses instituted was not mere sacrifice, sacrifice that was an end in itself, but sacrifice that was organically related to the Covenant, and that had no meaning apart from the Covenant. To bring to the prophetic oracles the principles of interpretation that rightly belong to a code of laws, and to forget that they are poetry, and require for their interpretation the penetration that exalted poetry always calls for, is to do them violence. In a legal document such a statement would be taken to mean that Jeremiah was not alone denying the validity of sacrifice, but challenging the historical accuracy of the tradition that Moses established sacrifice in Israel, or that he followed the Divine leading if he did. But this is not a legal document, and need not be so interpreted. For we should not forget that elsewhere Jeremiah says :

'Behold ! I am bringing evil  
 Upon this people,  
 Even the fruit of their own devices :  
 For to My words they have not given ear,  
 And My law have they rejected.  
 Why then cometh there to Me  
 Frankincense from Sheba,  
 Or sweet cane from a distant land ?  
 Your burnt-offerings find no acceptance,  
 And your sacrifices are not pleasing to Me.'<sup>2</sup>

The burnt-offerings and sacrifices are not pleasing, not because they are burnt-offerings and sacrifices, but because they are offered by men who do not hearken to the voice of God, and who therefore in their hearts reject His Covenant.

In all of these passages there is no reason to suppose that the prophets condemned the cultus as such, but only the cultus

<sup>1</sup> Jer. vii, 22-23. Pedersen holds it doubtful whether this passage is by Jeremiah. See *Israel III-IV*, p. 562.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. vi, 19 f.

that was regarded as an end in itself.<sup>1</sup> So to treat it was to convert it into an insult to God, and a hollow mockery. And in the eyes of the prophets few things could be more terrible than that.

But it was equally terrible in the eyes of those who framed the Law. Nowhere does the Law teach that God may be mocked with impunity, and nowhere does it encourage men to offer sacrifices with hearts that are indifferent to God's will and way, or with hands that are full of blood. The sacrifices it called for were the sacrifices that were the organ of the spirit, and the expression of the loyalty and devotion of the heart, and not the hollow sacrifices the pre-exilic prophets denounced. It called for sacrifices that were offered in a profoundly humble spirit, the sacrifices of men who hated sin with a deep hatred, and desired to be cleansed of it, and who desired the communion of God that they might be like Him. Nowhere in the Law is there any word to suggest that clean hands and a pure heart were matters of indifference in its eyes. For deliberate and pre-meditated sin it offered no cleansing any more than the prophets had done. 'The soul that doeth aught with a high hand, whether he be home-born or a stranger, the same blasphemeth the Lord ; and that soul shall be cut off from among His people.'<sup>2</sup> It regarded the sincere confession of sin as essential to the expiation. 'It shall be, when he shall be guilty in one of these things, that he shall confess that wherein he hath sinned ; and he shall bring his forfeit unto the Lord for his sin which he hath sinned . . . and the priest shall make atonement for him as concerning his sin.'<sup>3</sup> He was required to make restitution to his neighbour for anything in which he had wronged him in a way that would have commanded the fullest approval of the pre-exilic prophets. 'When a man or woman shall commit any sin that men commit . . . then shall they confess their sin which they have done ; and he shall make restitution for his guilt in full, and add unto it the fifth part thereof, and give it unto him in respect of whom he hath been guilty.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pedersen, *Israel III-IV*, p. 631 : 'All this scarcely means that the prophets and those similarly disposed wished that the sacrificial cult should disappear'.

<sup>2</sup> Num. xv, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Lev. v, 5 f.

<sup>4</sup> Num. v, 6 f.

And when we enquire how the sons of Judaism understood the Law, we are confirmed in the view that it called for the sacrifices that were the organ of the spirit. In the book of Proverbs we read in the Revised Version :

‘The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination :  
How much more when he bringeth it with a wicked mind.’<sup>1</sup>

The meaning of the second line is ambiguous, and some prefer to follow the Revisers’ Margin and read ‘when he bringeth it to atone for wickedness’. But in either case, it is clearly recognized that the spiritual state of the offerer is of more importance than his offering. So again we read in the same chapter :

‘To perform righteousness and justice  
Is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice.’<sup>2</sup>

Here is a word which might well have graced an oracle of one of the pre-exilic prophets. And in the second century B.C. we find Ben Sira uttering similar sentiments :

‘The sacrifice of an unrighteous man is a mockery,<sup>3</sup>  
And the obligations of the wicked are not acceptable.<sup>4</sup>  
The Most High hath no pleasure in the offerings of the godless ;  
Nor is pacified for sins by the multitude of sacrifices.’<sup>5</sup>

There is no suggestion here that the mere *opus operatum* of sacrifice can suffice to win the Divine favour, and that the observance of the Divine will is an irrelevance. Yet this word comes from a writer living far down in the period of Judaism, when a merely external religion is supposed to have held the field. And much later still, in the Talmud we read : ‘Be not like the fools who sin and bring an offering without repenting . . . and know not whether they bring it for the good or the evil. The Holy One, blessed be He, says, They cannot distinguish between good and evil, and they bring an offering before Me !’<sup>6</sup>

That deliberate sin was heinous, and not to be atoned for by the mere act of sacrifice, was recognized as much in the Mishnah

<sup>1</sup> Prov. xxi, 27.

<sup>2</sup> Prov. xxi, 3. Cf. 1 Sam. xv, 22.

<sup>3</sup> The rendering here follows in part Box and Oesterley, in Charles’s *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, i, 1913, p. 435. The R.V. has ‘He that sacrificeth of a thing wrongfully gotten, his offering is made in mockery’.

<sup>4</sup> Following the Syriac text. The R.V. has ‘And the mockeries of wicked men are not well-pleasing’.

<sup>5</sup> Ecclus. xxxiv, 18 f. (xxxii, 21-23).

<sup>6</sup> T. B. Berakoth 23a.

as in the Law. We read there : ' If a man say, I will sin and repent, I will sin again and repent, he will be given no chance to repent. If he say, I will sin and the Day of Atonement will clear me, the Day of Atonement will effect no atonement.'<sup>1</sup> Similarly, in the Tosephtha we read : ' Sin-offering and guilt-offering and death and the Day of Atonement all put together do not effect atonement without repentance'.<sup>2</sup> Or again, in the Midrash Rabbah we find : ' This is so that a man shall not say within himself, I will go and do things ugly and unseemly, and I will bring an ox, on which there is much flesh, and offer it on the altar, and lo ! I shall be in favour with Him, and He will receive me as a penitent.'<sup>3</sup>

It is doubtless true that the Law laid stress on unconscious sin, and in this there was peril. It also put far more emphasis on ritual and involuntary uncleanness, than any of the Prophets of the pre-exilic period would have done. Its aim was not to bring moral offences down to the level of ritual offences, but to lift ritual offences to the level of moral offences. ' Be heedful of a light precept as of a weighty one ', said Rabbi Judah the Prince,<sup>4</sup> who had so large a hand in the compilation of the Mishnah. He did not mean ' Treat a serious offence with the levity with which you would treat a trivial one ', but rather ' Treat a trivial offence with the same seriousness that a major sin would demand '. Any sin was serious, since it was a contravention of the will of God, and to Rabbi Judah the Prince, as to many another of the leaders of Judaism, there were no minor sins.

It must, however, be admitted that however praiseworthy their motive, there was serious peril in the lack of differentiation between the technical and the moral, since it opened the door to the externalism of many of the Pharisees in the New Testament period, revealed in the Gospels. Writing of these Pharisees Klausner says : ' The casuistry and immense theoretical care devoted to every one of the slightest religious ordinances left them open to the misconception that the ceremonial laws were the main principle and the ethical laws only secondary'.<sup>5</sup> To

<sup>1</sup> Yoma viii, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Tosephtha Yoma v, 9 (ed. Zuckerman, 1937, p. 190, line 23).

<sup>3</sup> Lev. R. ii, 12.

<sup>4</sup> Pirke Abot ii, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Jesus of Nazareth, E. Tr. by H. Danby, 2nd ed., p. 216.

recognize this is not to condemn Judaism root and branch as unspiritual and external in its conception and foundation. As Klausner again observes : ' In every system, as time goes on, the secondary comes to be regarded as primary and the primary as secondary ; the most exalted idea has associated with it disciples who distort and transform it '.<sup>1</sup> The fence that Judaism erected to protect the spirit became to some of its sons more important than the spirit. Yet was it never so to all its sons. Nor was it created so to be to any. For Judaism was called into being by men of spiritual insight, who cherished the words of the prophets as well as the words of the Law, and who saw in the observances of the Law the organ of the spirit the prophets had demanded.

If, then, the pre-exilic prophets denounced the sacrifices that were not the organ of the spirit, and the Law called for sacrifices that were the organ of the spirit, there is no fundamental conflict between them, though there is a difference of emphasis. For both regarded sacrifice as potent to bless the offerer only when it bore to God his humble and submissive spirit, that it might also bear to him from God the boons he sought. Such a view makes intelligible the collection of the oracles of the pre-exilic prophets in the post-exilic age, and their veneration alongside the Law itself in the Judaism of the post-exilic days. It means that the Law was not created to be the antithesis of all that the Prophets had stood for, but to be the guardian and up-holder of it. It also makes intelligible the collection and employment of the Psalms in the worship of the post-exilic community.

For the Psalter, as has been increasingly insisted in recent years, is essentially a cultic collection. It has often been called the ' Hymn Book of the Second Temple ', but the term is not wholly apt. For while it was used in the Second Temple, it was probably not used in the same free way as a modern Hymn Book. It was more probably a ritual collection, whose poems were recited or sung as a necessary part of particular rites. It is now some years since Mowinckel advanced the view <sup>2</sup> that the Psalter

<sup>1</sup> *Jesus of Nazareth*, p. 213. Cf. also J. van der Ploeg, ' Jésus et les Pharisiens ', in *Mémorial Lagrange*, 1940, pp. 279-293.

<sup>2</sup> *Psalmenstudien I, Awän und die individuellen Klagesalmen*, 1921.

was a collection of cultic texts, many of them associated with magic, and that their recital was believed to be potent of itself to effect what the worshipper desired. While I should not subscribe to this view in these terms, I think Mowinckel pointed us in the right direction. But I think it is truer to say that particular psalms accompanied particular ritual acts, as both the necessary accompaniment and interpretation of the rite, not because magical potency was attributed to the mere recitation or chanting of the psalm, but in order that the psalm might evoke the appropriate spirit from the worshipper, and so make the rite in a very real sense the organ of his worship.<sup>1</sup> A. C. Welch suggested that Psalm cxiv was a Hymn for the Passover, which may have been chanted in the Temple as the lambs were being slaughtered by the priests, or sung in the home after the actual offering,<sup>2</sup> and that the penitential psalms may have accompanied sin offerings.<sup>3</sup> He says : 'The significance of the cult, according to these hymns, rested, not on the rite *per se*, but on the character of Him who had commanded it, and on the attitude of those who fulfilled it'.<sup>4</sup> It is probable that the recitation or chanting of the psalm was regarded as essential to the due performance of the rite, but that beyond this it both interpreted to the worshipper the real significance of the rite, and called forth from him that spirit which would make the rite the vehicle of his spirit. The use of the psalter was intended to guard against that hollowness of spirit against which the pre-exilic prophets had declaimed. If a sin-offering were being offered, I can think of nothing more appropriate or more effective than Psalm li to make the worshipper realize that his offering was of less significance than the spirit in which he brought it, or to call forth from him that spirit of penitence which could make the cry of his offering the genuine cry of his heart, that his offering might be at once the organ of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. what I have written on the Psalms in *Religion in Education*, xii, 1944-1945, pp. 36-40. I there recognize varieties of spiritual level in the Psalter, and also recognize that many of the psalms may have had their origin in particular experiences, either individual or national. It would follow that though I believe they formed a cultic collection, they would not all equally directly serve the cultic purpose for which they were used.

<sup>2</sup> *Prophet and Priest in Old Israel*, 1936, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

his approach to God, and of God's approach in grace to him. By their profoundly spiritual quality the Psalms carried his spirit into the ritual act, that it might become the organ of his spirit, and so made it sacramental—not in the sense of a mere *opus operatum*, but in the sense of something in which he and God could meet, he to yield and God to bless, his offering bearing his spirit to God by his mystical identification of himself with it, and bearing the divine gift to him. The high spiritual tone that marks so much of the Psalter, and that makes it still of value to lift the modern worshipper into the presence of God and to make the worship the organ of his spirit, is evidence of spiritual qualities both in the days when the Psalms were written, whether pre-exilic or post-exilic, and in the days when they were collected to be employed in the service of the Judaism that was based on the Law.

When we thus recognize that Law and Prophets were not in irreconcilable conflict, and that the use of the Psalms was designed to make the practices of the Law the organ of the spirit the Prophets called for, we not merely find a real unity within the Old Testament,<sup>1</sup> but we have a basis for the study of the New, to which I can only draw brief attention.

The central fact of the New Testament, in both Gospels and Epistles, is the Cross. The view so long current that the Prophets were against all sacrifice is probably in no small measure responsible for the modern dismissal of the interpretation of the Cross in terms of sacrifice. For if sacrifice was already abolished in the teaching of the pre-exilic prophets as in itself an offence to God, the Cross could hardly be interpreted in such terms.

The New Testament interprets the Cross in many ways indeed. None by itself offers a complete interpretation, and none is to be pressed in any hard and literal fashion. To interpret it in terms of sacrifice is to interpret it in terms of a metaphor, and there are elements of the metaphor which cannot possibly apply. Christ was not sacrificed on an altar in a shrine in accordance

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. G. Montefiore, in *Record and Revelation* (ed. H. W. Robinson), 1938, p. 439: 'To the Rabbis, and indeed to all subsequent Judaism up to modern times, the Old Testament was a unity. To us the contrast between the Prophets and the Law is extremely familiar, and indeed is often overworked and exaggerated.'

with a ritual procedure carefully regulated and controlled, nor were the Roman soldiers who crucified Him priests, nor they who handed Him over to death the offerers of this sacrifice to God. A metaphor can only bring into focus certain aspects of the truth, and we must never be the slaves of our metaphors. Yet we are wise if we retain those aspects of the truth which our metaphors express.

Our age has, rightly in my judgement, stressed the thought of the Cross as the revelation of the Divine love. Its Abelardian outlook has made it concentrate on such great texts as 'God commendeth His own love toward us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us',<sup>1</sup> and 'God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself'.<sup>2</sup> Yet if this thought alone is stressed, a one-sided view of the Cross is obtained. It has to leave out of account much that stands in the New Testament, and will not fit into Biblical Theology as a whole. It is often thought that a sacrificial interpretation of the Cross must necessarily set Christ over against God, and run counter to the clear insight of the texts just cited. It is true that much of the older interpretation brought into the focus of its thought the conception of God as hard and stern and exacting, the embodiment of justice in its severest aspect, confronted by Christ, the patient and gentle, the embodiment of love. That this is an equally one-sided, and even more objectionable, interpretation I should heartily agree. But truth is seldom the circle, with a single focus ; it is far more often the ellipse, with two foci. Or, to express it differently, truth lies rather in a tension between two principles than in either alone. And in the teaching of the New Testament, as indeed also of the Old, the love and the justice of God both figure, distinguishable in thought but in action united, not warring with one another but together giving its quality to the single wholeness of the act of God.<sup>3</sup> And if we look at the sacrificial element of the meaning of the Cross in the New Testament in the light of the Old Testament teaching we have found, it becomes less objectionable because it is integrated into a larger unity.

Sacrifice must bear a two-way traffic or none. That, I have maintained, was the view of both Prophets and Law-givers. If

<sup>1</sup> Rom. v, 8.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. v, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H. Wheeler Robinson, *Redemption and Revelation*, 1942, pp. 249-257.

it is to prove potent to bring to a man the blessing of God, it must be the organ of his approach to God, and of his submission of himself to the will of God. As a mere *opus operatum*, unrelated to his spirit, it is valueless. This is also the teaching of the New Testament in its sacrificial interpretation of the significance of the Cross. It is only when the Cross becomes the organ of man's surrender of himself to God, only when it bears his spirit to God in submission to His will, that it can become the power of God unto salvation, and the organ of the recreation of his personality. Until it is the organ of his offering of himself, he is numbered with the crucifiers of Christ, rejecting the grace of God, and 'crucifying afresh the Son of God'. The Cross is then as much the organ of his condemnation as were the hollow sacrifices the prophets condemned the organ of the condemnation of the men of their day. This making of the Cross the organ of a man's submission of himself to God is what the New Testament means by faith. For faith is no mere intellectual formulation of belief, though it involves an intellectual element, even if only implicit. But faith is rather a man's identification of himself with Christ, so that His Cross both bears his spirit to God and bears to him from God the renewal of his personality. For faith is not the organ of man's redemption, but only its condition. It is the Cross that is the organ of redemption, and the condition of faith is as necessary as the spirit the prophets called for. They declared futile the sacrifices that offered a plea which the heart rejected. And in the same way the New Testament teaches that the sacrifice of Christ can only be effective when the language of its plea is re-echoed in men's hearts. But then it does become 'the power of God unto salvation'. Thus it is only when it becomes the organ of man's approach to God that it becomes the revelation of God's love to him in power. That is why the two sides of the truth belong essentially together.

The familiar John iii, 16 presents us with a view of the Cross as the expression of God's love, but combines with this the recognition that it works not merely *ex opere operato*, but only when it becomes the organ of faith, when men believe on Him in such a way that they become identified with Him. 'God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son that whosoever

believeth on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' And this is characteristic of Paul's thinking. He speaks of being crucified with Christ. The self that rejects and crucifies Christ must be yielded up to perish, and this takes place when a man makes His Cross the organ of his self-yielding unto God, when he so identifies himself with Christ in spirit that His Cross may fitly bear his spirit to God. And when this happens, he receives from Him the new self, marked by the indwelling presence and power of Christ. For when a man identifies himself with Christ, Christ identifies Himself with him. 'I have been crucified with Christ', says Paul; 'Nevertheless I live; and yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave Himself for me.'<sup>1</sup> Or again he says: 'That I may gain Christ, and be found in Him, not having a righteousness of mine own, even that which is of the law, but that which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith: that I may know Him, and the power of His resurrection, and the fellowship of His sufferings, becoming conformed unto His death'.<sup>2</sup> Quite frequently Paul comes back to this thought of dying with Christ, and rising to newness of life in union with Him. Fundamental to all his thought of the Cross is the idea that it not merely achieves something for men, but that it is something into which they must in a profound sense enter. 'And you did He quicken', he says to the Ephesians, 'when ye were dead through your trespasses and sins, wherein aforetime ye walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the sons of disobedience. . . . But God, being rich in mercy, for His great love wherewith He loved us, even when we were dead through our trespasses, quickened us together with Christ . . . and raised us up with Him'.<sup>3</sup> Here again, it is to be observed, salvation is born of the love of God, and not wrested from the justice of God by the love of Christ; but it consists in an experience which can only be described as a dying with Christ and a rising with Him.

And when Paul offers an interpretation of the Christian sacraments he does so in terms of the same ideas. Baptism to him symbolized not alone death to the past and resurrection to

<sup>1</sup> Gal. ii, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Phil. iii, 8-10.

<sup>3</sup> Eph. ii, 1-6.

newness of life, but identification with Christ, to enter into His death and to rise with Him to a newness of life that consists in the sharing of His life. ‘All we who were baptized into Christ were baptized into His death. We were buried therefore with Him through baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life. For if we have become united with Him by the likeness of His death, we shall be also by the likeness of His resurrection ; knowing this, that our old man was crucified with Him, that the body of sin might be done away, that so we should no longer be in bondage to sin.’<sup>1</sup> Or again he says : ‘Having been buried with Him in baptism, wherein ye were also raised with Him through faith in the working of God, who raised Him from the dead’.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, when treating of the other great Christian sacrament, Paul uses similar terms. He says : ‘Whosoever shall eat the bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man prove himself, and so let him eat of the bread and drink of the cup. For he that eateth and drinketh, eateth and drinketh judgement unto himself, if he discern not the body.’<sup>3</sup> Whoever fails to bring to the sacrament the right spirit turns it into the organ of a curse upon himself, instead of the organ of a blessing. Just as the prophets declared that sacrifices that were not the organ of the spirit of the offerers were not merely futile but a positive offence to God, adding to the sin of men instead of making atonement for it, so here Paul is saying that without the right spirit this sacrament becomes the instrument of judgement. In partaking of it without bringing to it the spirit which could make it the organ of his act, he is guilty of the body and blood of Christ ; that is to say, he crucifies Him afresh. And what partaking rightly involves is therefore presumably the renewing of the spiritual sacrifice of Christ, whereby a man’s spirit is united with His and renewed from His. It is again, as ever, two-way traffic or none. What a man gains from the sacrament is conditioned by what he brings to it, and the worthiness of what he brings is not something that consists in his own loftiness of character, but in the yielding of himself afresh to Him.

<sup>1</sup> Rom. vi, 4-6.

<sup>2</sup> Col. ii, 12.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. xi, 27-29.

In Matthew's account of the institution of this sacrament we read that our Lord said : 'Take eat ; this is My body . . . . Drink ye all of it, for this is My blood'.<sup>1</sup> The sacrament is therefore here conceived of as the organ of that self-identification with Christ which is fundamental to the experience of redemption and symbolized in baptism. This is underlined more than once in the Fourth Gospel. In the discourse which our Lord is there reported to have uttered in the Upper Room, we read : 'I am the true vine. . . . Abide in Me and I in you. . . . I am the vine, ye are the branches ; he that abideth in Me and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit.'<sup>2</sup> And earlier in the Gospel, in the address attributed to our Lord in the Capernaum synagogue, we have an interpretation of this sacrament : 'He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood abideth in Me, and I in him'.<sup>3</sup> Its purpose is here set forth as the renewal of union with Christ. To hold, as some have done, that this sacrament has a solely memorial significance is plainly not Scriptural. For beyond the memorial and declarative significance which it certainly also had, it has this other significance of entering afresh into the fruits of Christ's sacrifice, and the renewal of the stamp of His personality upon His own. It achieves something not so much for men as in men, and it can only achieve this as they yield themselves willingly to its power.

This brief incursion into the New Testament does not profess to offer a complete account of the Cross of Christ, or of the Christian sacraments in New Testament thought. It merely aims to illustrate how the integration of the elements of the Old Testament Law, Prophets and Psalms, can find its counterpart and continuance in the integration of the elements of the New Testament. It is not my purpose to suggest that there is no diversity in the Bible, or within either Testament, but rather to suggest that beneath all the diversity there is an underlying unity of teaching as to the essential nature and significance of the supreme observances of both Old Testament and New Testament religion. That is one of the many reasons why the Old Testament was the preparation for the New, and why its understanding is still of importance to-day.

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxvi, 26-28.

<sup>2</sup> John xv, 1-5.

<sup>3</sup> John vi, 56.

## THE PSYCHOLOGY OF TOGETHERNESS.

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**I**N his chapter on "The Wisdom of the Body", Sir Charles Sherrington describes the intricate structure of the human eye with "about 137 million 'seeing' elements spread out in the sheet of the retina", which make it so marvellously responsive to changes in the light that falls upon it. He then goes on to speak of the "wonder of wonders".<sup>1</sup> The eye sends to the brain streams of tiny electrical charges which have hardly anything in common with a visual image; and yet it is "the streaming crowd of electrified shifting points in the spongework of the brain" that makes us see shaped and coloured objects in the world outside us. "Electrical charges having in themselves not the faintest element of the visual—having, for instance, nothing of distance; . . . nor colour, nor brightness, . . . nor near, nor far . . . —yet conjure up all these."

We have here an interesting example of the way in which changes in our physical environment produce minutely co-ordinated changes in our bodies, just as in other instances, changes in our bodies effect changes in our environment. But "the wonder of wonders" is that under suitable conditions these physical interactions are associated with events of quite another order. They are intimately connected with thoughts and feelings and endeavours which form part of our conscious mental life, and with which they have little if anything in common.

This strange conjunction of the physical and mental is one of the basic facts which psychology must recognise, and no account of our mental activities can be satisfactory which fails to take full account both of the fact itself and of the experiences to which it gives rise. We ought, for instance, to give due weight to the conditions under which our two-sided interactions with

<sup>1</sup> *Man on his Nature*, ch. iv, p. 128.

things take place. The nature of these conditions can be illustrated by an example.

In order that I may recognise a friend in the street we must obviously both be members of the physical world in which in certain circumstances changes in one member are followed by changes in another. Within this world we must make our co-membership effective by being together in a particular situation in which my eyes can in fact respond to my friend's appearance and movements.

But, secondly, this physical togetherness is not enough. I shall not notice my friend unless he has importance or value for me. He and I must be together in a realm in which things have value for each other in virtue of being the things they are, or, we may say, in virtue of their intrinsic worth. They then change each other, not by their external interactions, but by increasing or diminishing each other's worth. Figuratively speaking, they change each other from inside. I see my friend because to do so makes my life, perhaps to a very small extent, either more or less worth living.

It might be shown that this second condition holds good of all our conscious dealings with things as well as persons. Only when it is satisfied does physical togetherness have any meaning for us. We can even have value-togetherness with only a very remote kind of physical togetherness with the objects which have value for us.

The necessity of value-togetherness and its priority over merely external togetherness are reflected in our experience. For we never consciously deal with things unless we feel that they in some way concern us, that is, have some positive or negative value for us. It is our sense of their value that leads us to take account of them as having their places in the scheme of things and therefore their own being and worth. Thus children clearly show that they think of things as real because they are important to them personally. Children thus come to live in little worlds composed of persons and things with which they have value-togetherness and whose properties depend primarily upon the particular kind of value they possess.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., H. Werner, *Entwicklungspsychologie*.

In later years our sense of togetherness with things takes a rather different form ; for we deal with them as external objects more or less independent of ourselves. We may be active in asserting ourselves against them, in which case our underlying togetherness with them is less definitely felt. But the feeling persists, at any rate in the background. For we are aware of people and things as co-operating or antagonistic fellow-members of situations in which we and they play interconnected parts. This awareness may be vivid or vague, but it would seem to be rarely altogether absent. Boys playing in a group game keenly feel their togetherness both with other members of their team and with their opponents. We have the same kind of feeling towards tools and instruments and machines which enable us to achieve our purposes. When I drive a car I feel that we are both engaged in a common enterprise in which success depends upon our effective co-operation. But the most vivid experience of togetherness is that exemplified by a man's love for a maid, a mother's for her children, and a patriot's for his country.

This sense of togetherness is as essential an aspect of our experience as is our awareness of being independently active. In it we consciously live the principle that things cannot interact at all unless they are members of wholes in which changes in one member may effect changes in other members. If we ignore this principle and its reflection in our experience, we take a narrow and distorted view of our mental activities, and cannot begin to do justice to the close connection between our external interactions and our own mental life.

When some psychologists describe our activities as responses to external stimuli, they may assume our togetherness with the things which stimulate us, but they do not emphasise its importance. They tend to give the impression that the mind and its objects have little connection with each other apart from being brought into external contact, either by the forces the environment exerts or by the mind's own activity. For example, some Gestalt psychologists speak of the systems of objects to which we react as dynamic wholes which, as K. Lewin says, pull and push us in accordance with their nature.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See B. Petermann, *Das Gestaltproblem*, p. 306.

Or we may be described as opposing ourselves to the world outside us. "In every action", writes Sir Percy Nunn, "I say to the world, openly or implicitly, I am here to be reckoned with; I go a way that is, as far as may be, my own way and not merely yours".<sup>1</sup> W. McDougall's well-known definition of the inborn instincts or propensities, "which set the ends and sustain the course of all human activity", expands this conception of our active dealings with the outside world. "An instinct is an innate disposition to perceive (to pay attention to) any object of a certain class, and to experience in its presence a certain emotion and an impulse to action which find expression in a specific mode of behaviour in relation to that object."<sup>2</sup>

These examples, which might easily be multiplied, illustrate a widespread view of mental activity which has strongly influenced psychological thinking and practice. In spite of differences of emphasis, our interactions with things tend to be conceived like those of material bodies, and they are often described in terms derived from physics and mechanics. An instinct or other motive is represented as determining the mind's activity in much the same way as the force of gravitation determines the motion of a stone. We can think of a stone as falling by its own weight, or as pulled downwards by the earth. Similarly, the mind may be impelled by some force inherent in its nature, or by a force exerted by its environment. But the analogy remains.

Psychologists who share this general conception of mental activity have done much valuable work in explaining a wide range of mental phenomena. When, however, they assume that their stand-point enables them to survey our whole mental life the limitations of their outlook become apparent. Their preoccupation with our dealings with things as external leads them to do less than justice to the prior necessity of our value-togetherness with things not simply as external objects but as possessing value and therefore intrinsic worth.

For example, they are apt to isolate certain activities, such as those of perceiving and cognising external things without fully realising that these activities are significant expressions of

<sup>1</sup> *Education : Data and First Principles*, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Outline of Psychology*, p. 110.

our efforts to respond more fully to the value of things. In these efforts our whole selves are engaged, not only certain powers or aspects of our minds. Thus, perception is sometimes described as a purely intellectual activity by which we learn what the outsides of things are like or how they sound or smell. The truer view, as Whitehead insists, is that we begin by feeling the value or importance they have for us, and then go on to find out what they are like. We are also physically active in adjusting ourselves to the situation as having meaning and value for us. We are therefore active more or less with our whole body-minds ; we do not merely use a particular power to perceive.

In the same way the acquisition of knowledge is often discussed as the process by which we ascertain and co-ordinate certain facts. Such factual knowledge is vitally important, but we gain it as one result of a comprehensive course of activity in which feeling and effort as well as reason and imagination play their parts. Moreover, we hardly ever want simply to know things as facts. We want to know what value they have for us and other people, and perhaps their intrinsic worth. Such value-knowledge is not less important than factual knowledge ; it helps us to penetrate below the surface of things and within our limits to know them in themselves. This is the kind of knowledge a mother has of her children, an appreciative reader of a poem, and a conscientious man of his duty.

Again, the one-sided stress laid on what we can broadly call external activities had led to the comparative neglect of experiences in which our value-togetherness with persons and things is vividly felt. In love and loyalty, in devotion to duty, and in the wholehearted enjoyment of beauty we do not deal with things primarily from outside. We identify ourselves with them by actively responding to their intrinsic worth. This attitude and the experiences it involves receive scant attention in some textbooks. Our moral, æsthetic and religious experiences may indeed be hardly discussed at all. Some psychologists go so far as to disclaim any concern with the ethical or other worth of our activities. They ignore the vital difference between our experience of doing what we feel to be right, and our experience of doing the same kind of thing when we know it is wrong.

But perhaps the most disastrous result of the narrow view we are criticising is that it leads us to regard our mental life as naturally self-centred. When we picture ourselves as living by constantly interacting with external things, we almost inevitably suppose that we either respond to them in ways advantageous to ourselves or try to bend them to our will. As Nunn says, we want to go our own way and not merely theirs. The interests we seek to satisfy need not be concerned solely with our own well-being ; but we seek to satisfy them because they are our own. It then becomes difficult to understand why we may feel most freely active when we are taking no account of our individual desires or welfare, but are devoting ourselves to aims compared with which our personal fortunes are regarded as unimportant. This difficulty is apparent, for example in McDougall's laborious attempts to account for moral self-sacrifice as a product of self-centred tendencies.<sup>1</sup>

In order to do justice to the experiences not only of saints and heroes, but of all of us at our best, we must, I suggest, take full account both of our external interactions and, more particularly, of our togetherness with things. What conception of our mental life will then approve itself I shall not attempt to forecast in detail. But authoritative writers have provided us with a provisional outline which I shall try to sketch in my own words.

Following their lead we can distinguish three connected stages in a normal process of mental activity and regard these stages as belonging to different levels of conscious mental life. As Whitehead among others insists, the first stage of the process is that we become aware of living in a situation that has actual or possible value for us. We respond to its value by feeling some form of pleasure or pain, which involves a sense of intimate togetherness with the situation as a whole, or, as W. Stern puts it, of being embedded in it.<sup>2</sup> Our attitude, Whitehead tells us, can be called sympathetic in the wide etymological sense of that term. For we feel *in* another and conformably *with* another.<sup>3</sup> In other words, we feel our togetherness with the situation as a whole.

<sup>1</sup> See his *Social Psychology*, ch. viii.

<sup>2</sup> *Allgemeine Psychologie*, p. 730.

<sup>3</sup> *Process and Reality*, p. 227.

We do not as a rule consciously experience this type of togetherness as a separate stage in our course of activity. But on some occasions we do so, and we may even subordinate our dealings with things as external objects to our sense of togetherness with them. When I find myself in an unfamiliar room I may have a feeling of discomfort before I know what caused it. On being introduced to a stranger my first response may be a feeling of pleasure at meeting him. If I unexpectedly encounter a bull in a lane, I may be so vividly aware of being involved in a dangerous situation that my feelings dominate my whole experience ; I may not even distinctly see the bull nor try to run away. On the other hand, when I am luxuriating in a hot bath the mere pleasure of being in it dissuades me from being externally active.

We are, however, very rarely so absorbed in either a very pleasant or a very painful or dangerous situation as not to feel impelled to make it in some way more pleasant or less painful. The impulse becomes a conscious motive when, as rational beings, we view the situation from outside, both as it actually is and as it may become. We then distinguish various aspects of the situation and various objects in it ; and we become active in dealing with them as external and therefore separate from ourselves. A young child in his earliest days cries when he is uncomfortable as an instinctive response to the felt disvalue of the situation in which he finds himself. By degrees he learns to recognise his mother as an actual or possible source of help. He then cries as a proved means of getting her to help him.

The stage or level of experience and activity on which the child thus enters has engaged the special attention of psychologists, and its importance is recognised in practice by us all. In so far as we are active on this level we live in a world of persons and things that are actually or potentially real and important in their own right. What we try to do is not in the first instance to make ourselves more comfortable ; it is to effect actual changes in the objective situation which will make it in some way more valuable from our point of view. This is a very different kind of activity from that involved in responding to the whole situation as our feelings demand. It involves objective purposes and rational thinking, deliberate initiative and some measure of

self-control. For we find we cannot have our own way without let or hindrance, nor attain our aims without external help. As G. F. Stout writes : " In being aware of ourselves as agents we are *ipso facto* aware of the presence of other factors which condition our success or failure. To feel ourselves active is to feel ourselves partners in . . . a total process apart from which our own action has no separable existence."<sup>1</sup>

It follows that in dealing with persons and things other than ourselves, we have to take account of their independence and comply with their demands. To get the best out of a car we must not only treat it in accordance with the general laws which govern the use of machines ; we must respect its particular idiosyncrasies. We implicitly recognise that it will serve us well only if it is itself a good car. Its utilitarian value depends in the end on its intrinsic worth. We must therefore, in our own interests, try to maintain and increase that worth.

By this change of attitude, we are partially freed from the bondage to our feelings, and consequent absorption in promoting our individual sense of well-being, characteristic of our primitive togetherness with unanalysed situations. We exercise our reasons, that is, our capacity for dealing with things as they really are, not as we want them or imagine them to be. Our feelings themselves are partially transformed. For they become less exclusively those of pleasure and pain, and involve some measure of satisfaction or dissatisfaction due to our success or failure in attaining objective ends.<sup>2</sup> At the same time we experience definite emotions ; for we directly respond by our feelings to the worth and value of things.

When, however, we thus distinguish external things from our own reactions to them we realise a new and higher form of togetherness with them. We no longer simply repose in their arms or try to free ourselves from their embrace. We are active with them or against them in enterprises in which we and they are mutually concerned and in which we strive to achieve objective aims.

In so far as we are thus active, we live primarily as members of the external world, and our sense of togetherness with things

<sup>1</sup> *Mind and Matter*, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> See W. Stern, *op. cit.*, pp. 735 f.

tends to be overlaid by our experience of actively mastering our environment. But our efforts to master our environment may themselves be subordinated to our appreciation of the intrinsic worth of the people or objects or possibilities that the situation involves. A mother nursing a sick child, a man doing his duty at any cost to himself, a musician absorbed in playing or hearing a Beethoven sonata may be very active on what we may call the external-object level. But their hearts are not set on making their own wills prevail. They surrender themselves to the insistent claim of something demanding to be done for its own sake because it is intrinsically worthwhile. Their interest in their personal success or welfare counts for little or nothing in comparison with their devotion to what for them possesses a different and higher kind of importance in the whole scheme of things.

In proportion as we live on this highest level we gain living unity with persons and things, principles and ideals, identifying ourselves with them and so making our interests in them the inspiring motives of all we do.<sup>1</sup> If we are active predominantly on this level we realise the highest type of living possible to us as human beings. We then experience a happiness so intense that in George Eliot's often-quoted words, "we can only tell it from pain by its being what we should choose before everything else, because our souls see it is good". We use our reasons to the full extent by responding to the true being of things in which their intrinsic worth consists; and we are most freely active in doing what we feel is overmasteringly important.

We do not often wholehearted attain this level of life, though most, if not all, of us do so at times. But the three levels of life, with the three corresponding stages of our activities, imply each other as aspects of human life as a whole. On different occasions one or other aspect will tend to dominate our experience; but in an harmonious life they form a hierarchy in which life on each level, summarily speaking, draws its material from below and its inspiration from above.

This brief sketch of our mental life is both tentative and incomplete. If, however, it were developed and amended, it

<sup>1</sup> In distinguishing three levels of experience and mental activity I have borrowed freely from Stern's description of the three 'modes of living'. But my levels all fall within the limits of his psychological or intermediate mode.

would seem to find room for an appreciative treatment of our experiences of togetherness and therefore of our moral, æsthetic and religious interests. It would also provide a background for a more comprehensive account of such specific activities as those of feeling and knowing.

A psychology on these general lines in fact is already being developed and applied by students of human nature who use their technical knowledge to illuminate, not to strait-jacket, their observations. To mention two names only, we find Burt doing so in his account of young delinquents, and Valentine in his study of young children. Not a few biographers, historians and anthropologists follow the same course. Above all it is the kind of psychology embodied in the life and practice of all good schools. For they are inspired by ideals of togetherness, while giving scope to individual interests.

Unhappily the psychology accepted by public opinion tends to be based on a disastrously narrow conception of our mental life. It is too often assumed that men are normally concerned with their individual interests and only on particular occasions take account of their togetherness with each other and with things of intrinsic worth. Our whole industrial system has been largely shaped by this and allied assumptions, and is with difficulty freeing itself from their pernicious influence. More generally, our efforts to create a new and better social world are not likely to succeed unless they are inspired by a fuller recognition of the motive force of togetherness and of the unselfishness of human nature at its best. The possibility of mental progress, and therefore of the advance of civilization, as Professor C. D. Broad reminded us before the invention of atomic bombs, depends "on our getting an adequate knowledge and control of life and mind before the combination of ignorance on these subjects with knowledge of physics and chemistry wrecks the whole social system".<sup>1</sup> The knowledge we need cannot be supplied by psychologists alone, but they can contribute to it and so render invaluable service to the nation and, we may hope, to the progress of mankind.

<sup>1</sup> *Mind and its Place in Nature*, p. 666.

## MENANDER'S PLAYS OF RECONCILIATION.<sup>1</sup>

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### I

MENANDER was born in 342 b.c. Four years later Philip of Macedon defeated the Athenian and Boeotian armies at Chæronea and became master of Greece ; in 336 b.c. he was assassinated and was succeeded by Alexander. The hopes that the Greeks had of regaining freedom came to nothing and Alexander appointed his father's general Antipater as governor of Macedonia and supervisor of Greece ; two years later Alexander started his Eastern campaigns. While Athenian external policy had to conform to Macedonian requirements, the orator Lycurgus (with Demosthenes in the background) aimed at restoring Athenian strength and Athenian morale ; he rebuilt the theatre of Dionysus in stone, set up in it the statues of the three classical tragedians, Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, and arranged for the production of official texts of their plays (a classical tragedy had been produced every year along with the new plays since 386 b.c.). At the same time Aristotle, who had been provided by Alexander with school, library and collections when he returned to Athens in 335-334 b.c., was lecturing and writing on dramatic theory as well as on ethics and politics. Thus Menander (and his fellow-poets of the New Comedy) could steep themselves both in the practice and the theory of classical tragedy.

Athenian politics ebbed and flowed with the news of Alexander's successes. In 330 b.c., after the decisive victory of Alexander over the Persians, Æschines of the pro-Macedonian party thought that the time had come to crush Demosthenes and brought a lawsuit against Ctesiphon, who had proposed giving Demosthenes a golden wreath for his services to Athens. Ctesiphon was acquitted ; Æschines went into exile and

<sup>1</sup> A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 12th of December, 1945.

Demosthenes was appointed corn commissioner in 328. In 326, possibly because Alexander was not expected to return from India, the anti-Macedonian party came to power. Alexander did return and his corrupt finance minister Harpalus fled to Athens, offering money and troops for war against Alexander; Demosthenes, among others, was implicated and on Harpalus' death went into exile. When Alexander died in 323, the anti-Macedonian party under Hyperides formed a new Hellenic League against the Macedonians. Aristotle, now unprotected, fled to the Macedonian stronghold of Chalcis and died; in due course he was succeeded by Theophrastus, the teacher of Menander. In 322 the Athenians were defeated by land and sea, and Antipater imposed an oligarchic constitution with the franchise restricted to the 9000 citizens liable for heavy-armed service. In the next year Menander produced his first play.

Antipater's death in 319 was the cause of a democratic revolution in Athens, which was put down in the next year by Antipater's son Cassander, who installed Demetrius of Phalerum, a pupil of Theophrastus, as the governor of Athens: he imposed a moderate oligarchy with the franchise restricted to those who had 1000 drachmæ and over. During this period Menander won his first victory in 315. Meanwhile the wars among Alexander's generals had continued: Antigonus the One-eyed, who ruled most of Asia, invaded Attica unsuccessfully in 313, having proclaimed that he would continue Alexander's policy of treating the Greek states as free allies, and in 307 his son, Demetrius the Besieger, 'liberated' Athens. Demetrius of Phalerum fled to Ptolemy in Egypt and was put in charge of the library of Alexandria. In the general excitement and rejoicing Theophrastus was also banished but was recalled the next year. In 306 Epicurus, the founder of the Epicurean school, started to teach in Athens and in 301 Zeno founded the Stoic school. The defeat of Antigonus by Cassander and his allies at the battle of Ipsus in 301 B.C. caused another oligarchic revolution in Athens. When, after the death of Cassander, Demetrius the Besieger again captured Athens in 294, he no longer trusted her as a free ally and installed a Macedonian garrison. Menander died in 292.

## II

Menander's *Perikeiromene*, or, as Gilbert Murray, inspired by Bernard Shaw, has named it, *Rape of the Locks*, was produced in 313 B.C. or shortly afterwards.<sup>1</sup> In the following sketch of the play I have tried to reconstruct the play, stage by stage, as it revealed itself to the original audience. I have indicated restoration by square brackets; inverted commas mark passages of direct translation of the original; round brackets enclose my commentary.<sup>2</sup> The scene represents three houses, belonging to a middle-aged citizen Pataikos, to a soldier Polemon, and to a rich woman Myrrhine and her husband Philinos.<sup>3</sup>

[Act I, Sc. 1. Polemon, a 'chiliarch' in the Macedonian army, returns from foreign service (220) to his native town of Corinth (9), where he has recently bought a house; here he lives with Glykera whom he believes to be the daughter of the poor woman who gave Glykera to him before she died. As he goes in, he is met by his soldier servant Sosias, who says that he has seen Glykera embracing an unknown young man (34). Polemon flies into a rage, calls Glykera out, cuts off her hair with his sword and dashes off with Sosias to Pataikos' house, into which he disappears. Glykera considers with Doris, the slave girl whom Polemon has given her, where she can take refuge from Polemon's cruelty; both re-enter Polemon's house.]

(The main lines of this first scene are clear; its length was approximately 100 lines.<sup>4</sup> The form of the title—*Perikeiromene*

<sup>1</sup> Körte, *Menander*<sup>3</sup>, xxxvi, following Schwartz, *Hermes*, 1929, 4.

<sup>2</sup> References are to Körte, *Menander*<sup>3</sup> (Teubner). Bibliographies are given in the editions of Jensen and Körte. Add Gilbert Murray, *The Rape of the Locks*.

<sup>3</sup> Dalman, *De aedibus scaenicis*, Leipzig, 1929, shows that Menander sometimes had three houses on the stage instead of the more usual two. In this play the houses of Myrrhine and Polemon are certainly on the stage (cf., e.g., 176-182). On the assumption that Pataikos is the 'sympathetic friend' to whom Polemon goes for comfort (fr. 391; l. 54 f.) Pataikos' house should also be on the stage because (a) ἐκπέπομφε (52) suggests a house on the stage rather than a house away in the town or the country, (b) at l. 428 Glykera and Pataikos come out of a house on the stage; Pataikos would naturally have taken Glykera to his own house. On Philinos, see below.

<sup>4</sup> About 120 lines have been lost before the text opens. Ignorance must have introduced herself (cf. fr. 545K) and told the story of Pataikos' marriage and the exposure of his children; if this occupied twenty lines, the total for Ignorance's

—shows that the shearing of Glykera took place during the action of the play, though not necessarily on the stage, as I have assumed above. In any case, the audience saw Glykera (7) as well as Polemon (9) and Sosias<sup>1</sup> during this first scene. The shearing was an act of brutality which made Glykera look like a slave and possibly implied infidelity.<sup>2</sup>

Act I, Sc. 2. After the violent opening scene personified Ignorance tells the audience the necessary facts. [Pataikos' wife some eighteen years ago had born him a son, Moschion, and a daughter, Glykera, and had then died (373 f.) ; the day before he had lost his fortune by shipwreck, and he therefore decided to give the children to a slave to expose, as it was folly to try and bring them up. He himself subsequently regained his wealth and now lives in the house where Polemon has gone to forget his troubles. The babies were discovered by an old woman.] She brought the girl up herself and gave the boy to the wealthy Myrrhine, who wanted a child. After the war (which modern writers call the first war between Antigonus and the coalition) she gave the girl, Glykera, to Polemon, and knowing that her own death was near, told Glykera that she was a foundling and that Moschion was her brother and gave her her swaddling clothes (including all the tokens with which she had been exposed).

"She saw that Moschion was rich and usually drunk, Glykera was young and pretty, and that Polemon, to whom Glykera was left, was completely unstable."

The old woman died and Glykera did not divulge her secret ; but

"One evening she was seeing off her maid from the door, when Moschion, who was a bold youth and was hanging about the door on purpose, caught sight of her. When he saw her standing in the doorway, he immediately rushed up, kissed her, and embraced her ; she, knowing him to be her brother, did not run away ; then Sosias arrived and saw."

"All this blazed up for the sake of the future, that Polemon might fly into a rage—for I, Ignorance, led him, though his character is not such—that a beginning of revelation might be made and that they might discover their own."

speech would be seventy lines. The only prologue speeches from Menandrian plays which survive complete are in Plautus' *Aulularia* (39 lines), *Cistellaria* (54 lines), *Poenulus* (73 lines : ll. 1-55 are Plautine addition, but 55-128 may well be straight from Menander).

<sup>1</sup> Sosias is not described or introduced in l. 52 ; he must therefore have appeared in an earlier scene.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aristophanes, *Ach.* 849 ; *Thesm.* 838 (with Scholiast) ; and Van Leeuwen, *ad loc.*

(The personified figure of Ignorance, who speaks the prologue, is the descendant of the gods and goddesses who often speak the prologue in the tragedies of Euripides, e.g. Hermes in the *Ion*. Her function is first to give the audience the necessary facts to appreciate the irony of the play, which arises from the ignorance of Moschion, Polemon, and Pataikos, and secondly to point out that Menander has created a new kind of character in Polemon ; he is not the typical brutal, boastful soldier, although his ignorance has made him act like one. Professor Michael Tierney<sup>1</sup> has argued that " her purpose quite evidently is to show that Polemon's act falls into Aristotle's first category of  $\beta\lambda\alpha\beta\alpha\iota$ , that it is an  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\acute{\chi}\eta\mu\alpha$ , not a  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\mu\alpha$ . The whole speech might be described as a sermon on an Aristotelian text, and throws a clear light on Menander's conception of his plot." Menander starts his play with a scene that gives the dramatic atmosphere and introduces some of the characters ; he then uses narrative to give the necessary facts. The beginnings of the *Heros*, *Épitrepontes*, Florentine Comedy, *Pseudherakles* (fr. 520), and the Plautine adaptations, *Cistellaria* and *Poenulus*, have the same structure.<sup>2</sup>)

Act I, Sc. 3. Sosias comes out of Pataikos' house, where Polemon (like Achilles in the *Iliad* after the death of Patroclus) is weeping while his friends try to comfort him ; he has sent Sosias to fetch his civilian clothing. Sosias sees Doris come out of Polemon's house before he enters himself. Doris knocks on the door of Myrrhine's house : " How unhappy is a soldier's wife ! They are all lawless. No faith in them." Sosias comes out of Polemon's house and says, as he crosses over to Pataikos' house :<sup>3</sup> " Polemon will be glad when he hears that Glykera is weeping ". Doris asks a slave [to bring out Myrrhine. Myrrhine agrees to take Glykera under her protection. Daos, the slave of Myrrhine and her husband Philinos, and therefore of their adopted son, Moschion, conducts Glykera across from Polemon's

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, xlvi, 1936, 248.

<sup>2</sup> Prologue speeches are in part preserved from the *Phasma*, *Dyskolos* (fr. 127), *Xenologos* (fr. 354), and fr. 545, but their position is unknown ; Plautus may have remodelled the beginning of the *Aulularia* to bring the prologue speech to the beginning.

<sup>3</sup> So also Schwartz, *Hermes*, 1929, 6.

house]. As he takes her across (71) he sees the tipsy revellers (who sing the interludes between the acts) and hurries the baggage slaves into Myrrhine's house. "Boys, there's a lot of tipsy lads coming. I congratulate my mistress; she is bringing the girl (Glykera) across to us. That's a mother. I must find my young master. It seems to me the moment for him to come here as quickly as possible." (The filling of the seventy lines lost between Doris' knocking at Myrrhine's door and the final words of Daos quoted above is conjectural. On the analogy of a similar scene<sup>1</sup> the actual transference of Glykera and her belongings—some at least of her clothes she has left in Polemon's house as appears later—would not take up more than fifteen lines. Whether the balance of fifty-five lines contained a dialogue between Glykera and Myrrhine as well as a dialogue between Doris and Myrrhine is uncertain. Glykera chose Myrrhine as her refuge because Moschion was her brother and his home was the only possible resting-place for her. She presumably proved her identity by enumerating Moschion's recognition tokens to Myrrhine, just as she enumerates them to Pataikos in the later recognition scene (384 f.). Myrrhine accepted her partly because she could thereby prevent Moschion's love affair with Glykera from developing further, partly because she wanted to control anyone who knew that Moschion was not her own child.)

ACT II, SC. 1. Daos brings Moschion back from the town, telling him that he, Daos, is entirely responsible for Glykera's reception in the house of Myrrhine. After preliminary banter, in which Moschion promises Daos to make him a cheese vendor, Moschion sends Daos in to spy out the land: "I will walk up and down outside and wait for you, Daos. It looked good when I met her yesterday evening. She didn't run away from me but put her arms round me before she said, No.<sup>2</sup> I am not unpleasing to meet nor violent,<sup>3</sup> I think, by Athena, but agreeable to the girls." (He is contrasting himself with Polemon, but also with Thrasonides, the soldier hero of the *Misoumenos*.) Daos reports that they are getting breakfast ready and is sent

<sup>1</sup> *Heautontimoroumenos*, 723.

<sup>2</sup> Reading ἐπηνεσε (111).

<sup>3</sup> Reading οὐδ' ἔντονος (112).

in again to announce Moschion's arrival. Moschion continues : " When I go in, I must kiss my mother, win her completely, flatter her, live at her whim ; for she has made my cause her own ". Daos returns with a long face ; Myrrhine has accused him of chattering and turned him out. Moschion threatens to beat him and is with difficulty persuaded to go in quietly and await events.<sup>1</sup>

ACT II, SC. 2. Daos remains on the stage. Sosias returns with Polemon's uniform to see what is going on ; he goes into Polemon's house (170). Daos comments : " This is difficult enough, by Apollo ; I haven't thought of the worst yet : what confusion the master (Philinos) will make when he comes back from the country ".<sup>2</sup> Daos stands aside as Sosias storms out of Polemon's house, ranting at the slaves inside : " You have let her go, you sacrilegious beasts. You have let her go out of the house<sup>3</sup> . . . no doubt, she's gone to her lover next door and told us to go to hell." He bangs on the door of Myrrhine's house, but Daos intercepts him, denying that Glykera is there ; Sosias then threatens to take the house by storm and Daos goes in (206). Doris, who had come out in answer to Sosias' knock, comes forward and tries to persuade Sosias to tell Polemon nothing more than that Glykera " has taken refuge in a woman's house because she was frightened " (210). [Sosias is incredulous and Doris goes back into Myrrhine's house.]

<sup>1</sup> *Samia*, 325 f. provides a parallel for Moschion's behaviour and his relations with Daos.

<sup>2</sup> As a woman cannot swear by Apollo (Harsh, *Class. Philol.*, 1933, 205), these lines belong to Daos ; Doris answers Sosias' Knock (182) and enters at earliest at 187 (see Körte's apparatus). Daos' ' master from the country ' (174) is much more likely to be his own master, Myrrhine's husband, than Polemon (who could hardly send Sosias backwards and forwards so easily if he were in the country ; cf. n. 3 above). But who is Myrrhine's husband ? Capps and others suggest Pataikos, but (a) in the prologue Ignorance must have mentioned Pataikos as the father of the children ; if Pataikos later married Myrrhine, Ignorance could not have referred to her in l. 2 simply as ' a rich woman who lives in that house ' ; (b) if Pataikos were already *in loco parentis* to Moschion, ll. 389 and 397 must have been differently phrased. I have called Myrrhine's husband Philinos because it seems to me possible that Moschion is finally married back into the household where he was brought up ; but this is neither proved nor necessary. See also below.

<sup>3</sup> Schwartz, *Hermes*, 1929, 8, punctuates so that ἔξω τῆς θύρας means ' Get out of the door ' ; the slaves then become part of Sosias' siege army. This is attractive, if Greek.

[Act II, Sc. 3. Sosias returns to Pataikos' house and tells Polemon that Glykera has gone to her lover. He urges Polemon to take Myrrhine's house by storm but Pataikos suggests that he should first try peaceful means. Pataikos goes over to Myrrhine's house and is admitted. The act ends.]

(The total gap is sixty lines, of which some five would suffice for the end of Act II, Sc. 2, and, on the analogy of the similar scene in the *Eunuch* (771 f.), some fifteen for the mustering of the siege party at the beginning of Act III. Pataikos comes from Myrrhine's at l. 217, convinced that Polemon has misrepresented the legal position of Glykera; clearly therefore he had visited Myrrhine's house to demand the return of Glykera on the ground that they "had imprisoned a free woman in despite of her lawful guardian" (186), as Sosias phrases it.)

Act III, Sc. 1. Sosias draws up Polemon's forces for the siege; they include a cook<sup>1</sup> and Habrotonon, a flute girl who has been hired to divert Polemon; she carries her flutes. Just as the storming party is ready, Pataikos appears in the door of Myrrhine's house, and though Sosias tries to drown his words by Habrotonon's flutes,<sup>2</sup> he persuades Polemon to dismiss his army, but Sosias and some of the men apparently remain on the stage.<sup>3</sup>

(I imagine the beginning of this scene to have been not unlike the siege scene in the *Eunuch* (771 f., Sargent's translation):

"THRASO (the soldier). What? Shall I put up with a gross insult like this, Gnatho? I'd rather die. Simalio, Donax, little Syrus, come with me. First, I'll storm the castle. GNATHO (his dependant and flatterer). Right. TH. Then I'll carry off the girl. GN. Excellent. TH.—and properly punish my lady Thais. GN. Splendid. TH. You to the centre here, Donax, with the crowbar; you, Simalio, to the left wing, you, Syrus, to the right. Bring up the rest: where's Lieutenant Sanga with his kitchen detachment of nabbers? SANCA. Here, Sir (*comes forward with a sponge*). TH. What, you spiritless wretch, is it with a sponge you think to do battle, bringing one here like that?

<sup>1</sup> In l. 418 there is a cook in Polemon's house, but no word of how he arrived there. The feasting in Pataikos' house needed a cook, who may have arrived with the guests during Ignorance's speech. If he is now enrolled in Sosias' army, he can be led into Polemon's house at l. 275.

<sup>2</sup> So Murray, *Rape of the Locks*, 61.

<sup>3</sup> At the beginning of Act III, Sc. 3, Moschion sees Sosias and his army disappearing (276).

SA. O Sir, I knew the commandant's valour and the strength of the troops. An affair of bloodshed, says I : how am I to wipe their wounds ? says I. TH. Where are the rest ? SA. Rest ? What the plague ? There's only Sannio left at home to keep guard. TH. (to Gnatho) : You draw up these troops : I'll post myself behind the van ; from there I shall give the word to all. GN. Now he is wise ; his arrangement secures his own safety. TH. My tactics are just those of Pyrrhus."

ACT III, Sc. 2. Pataikos can now talk to Polemon and he makes two legal points. First, Polemon has no rights over Glykera ; she is her own mistress and not a wedded wife given him by her father ; his only resort, if she has left him and he still loves her, is persuasion. Secondly, as he has not caught Moschion in adultery, he cannot take violent vengeance on him, although he can make a formal complaint before witnesses and then go to law.<sup>1</sup> The whole idea of a siege is mere madness. Polemon is distracted :

" Glykera has abandoned me, Glykera has abandoned me, Pataikos. But if you think we should so act—you were her friend and have often talked with her before. Go and talk to her, be my ambassador, I beg you. PA. This seems to me the best course. PO. I suppose you can talk, Pataikos. PA. Fairly well. PO. But you'll need to. The whole case depends on this. For if I have ever committed any wrong—if I have not always been the soul of honour—if you were to look at her frocks. PA. No, thank you. PO. Look at them, Pataikos. You'll pity me more. PA. My God !<sup>2</sup> PO. Come here. What clothes. How lovely she looked when she wore them. Perhaps you have not seen her wear them. PA. Yes, I have. PO. And her tallness made her so good to look on. But why do I now talk about her tallness, poor fool, when she is no longer mine ? PA. No, not that. PO. No ? But you must see. Come this way."

They both enter Polemon's house, followed by Sosias and his army.

ACT III, Sc. 3. Moschion sees the tail of Sosias' army going into Polemon's house. He comes out to lament his fate ; he is the unhappiest man in Greece ; he had gone into a backroom by himself (290 = 161), believing that Daos would win over his

<sup>1</sup> The relevant Athenian law is quoted by Demosthenes, xxiii, 53. Whether the law was the same in Corinth, Menander probably neither knew nor cared.

<sup>2</sup> This oath, *ω Ποσειδον* (cf. *Heros*, 87 ; *Samia*, 148 ; *Com. Flor.*, 81), is very strong. Murray therefore makes Polemon fish in his breast and find a little circle of gold, which is one of the recognition tokens ; this is admirable theatre but the text gives no hint of it. Perhaps Pataikos sees something that he recognises through the door of Polemon's house ?

mother ; he had practised speeches to his mother ; [and he had waited and waited ; then Daos came and told him that a band of mercenaries was besieging the house, and still he had not been allowed to see Glykera ; so finally he had come out to do battle with the enemy].<sup>1</sup>

(The gap of about 157 lines between the middle of Moschion's monologue and the dialogue between Glykera and Pataikos with which the text resumes is difficult to fill, but most important for the story. Moschion's monologue shows no sign of flagging where the text breaks off, and should probably be allowed another twenty-five lines. There must also be a scene in which Pataikos leaves Polemon's house after inspecting the wardrobe and gets into touch with Glykera, whether by going into Myrrhine's house himself or by having her brought out ; this might account for another twenty-five lines. The stretch therefore about which we are completely in the dark is not more than 100 lines.

There are two pointers back from the Pataikos-Glykera scene. First, Glykera says (306) : “(Moschion) confronted me with his father”.<sup>2</sup> Speaking to Pataikos, Glykera can only mean Philinos just as when she mentions Moschion's mother she means Myrrhine ; Philinos' arrival had been expected by Daos (174) ; it looks as if he arrived in the gap. Secondly, Moschion knows considerably more in the Pataikos-Glykera scene than he knows in the preserved portion of the soliloquy. The stages by which he comes to accept Glykera as his sister and Pataikos as his father are (i) ‘Glykera has a piece of embroidery which is very like the embroidery that I have ; therefore she may also have been a foundling and she may be my sister’ (344).<sup>3</sup> To make this deduction and those which follow, Moschion must know that he is a foundling and have seen his own recognition tokens, the enumeration of which by Glykera

<sup>1</sup> See Murray's charming use of this idea, *Rape of the Locks*, 62.

<sup>2</sup> The subject of *κατέστησ* must be Moschion (taken from *αὐτός τ' ἐκεῖνος*) ; the examples in Kühner-Gerth, § 454, 2, n. 8, do not justify taking *με* as *ἐμαυτήν*. *ἐσ ταῦτο* does not necessarily imply an actual meeting between Glykera and Philinos.

<sup>3</sup> Moschion breaks in on the inspection of *γνωρίσματα*, just as Onesimos on the similar inspection of *γνωρίσματα* in the *Epitrepones* (215) ; he enters during the gap between ll. 337 and 338.

(385-389) finally makes him certain that he is her brother and Pataikos' son. (ii) 'Glykera was in fact a foundling, exposed in this embroidery ; this touches me very nearly' (352-353). (iii) 'A brother was exposed with Glykera : this answers one of my questions' (356-357). (iv) 'She swore to Myrrhine that she would not reveal anything about her brother ; this is another clear signal' (361-363). This last statement must either mean that on some occasion when she might have been expected to speak Glykera was silent about the relationship or that Moschion has already heard about her oath to Myrrhine and only believes it when he hears it again from Glykera's own lips. Glykera's pact with Myrrhine was either made in the preliminary arrangements for her transfer from Polemon's house or soon after her arrival in Myrrhine's house. She could have used the information to her own advantage either in her first interview with Pataikos or to resist Moschion's advances. I am inclined to think that the second solution is more likely and that Daos (or some informant of Daos) had overheard Glykera swearing to Myrrhine that she would not disclose that she was the sister of Moschion. On this basis I suggest the following reconstruction.)

[Act III, Sc. 4. Daos comes out and tells Moschion that he has heard that Glykera has sworn to Myrrhine to tell nobody of her relationship to Moschion. Moschion flies into a rage with Daos.]

[Act III, Sc. 5. As Moschion turns to go into the house to inquire more of Myrrhine, Philinos arrives from the country<sup>1</sup> and Moschion lays his difficulty before him ; Philinos tells him that he is not the child of Myrrhine but a foundling. Philinos and Moschion go into the house, while the chorus sing an interlude.]

[Act IV, Sc. 1. Pataikos and Polemon come out of Polemon's house. Polemon goes in again ; Pataikos summons Glykera out of Myrrhine's house and pleads with her to come back to Polemon, unless her motive in taking refuge with Myrrhine is to be with her new lover, Moschion.] Glykera defends herself :

" Could I have chosen to be so mad, and wrong Myrrhine, and leave you and Polemon with a suspicion against my honour which you would never wipe out ?

Have I no shame, Pataikos, and were you persuaded of this and did you believe I could have acted so? PA. No, never, honoured Zeus, and may you prove the truth of what you say. For I believe you. GL. But now none the less go away. He can wreak his passion on some one else. PA. He did not mean to be so cruel. GL. But it was an unholy thing, the sort of thing one would not do to a slave girl."

Pataikos continues to plead for Polemon but Glykera is far more concerned to get back the recognition tokens which she has left in Polemon's house, and Doris is sent in to fetch them.<sup>1</sup> Pataikos (who had probably suspected that some of Glykera's finery, which he had seen in Polemon's house, was the embroidery of his dead wife) now realises that these embroideries (*τὰ ποικίλα*) are not chance possessions but Glykera's recognition tokens and that therefore Glykera must be his daughter: "A strange feeling is coming over me. Nothing then is incredible. I am now, [on the razor's edge of fortune.]"

ACT IV, SC. 2. [Doris returns with the recognition tokens, which Pataikos and Glykera examine. Moschion (who knows that he is a foundling and that he may be the brother of Glykera) comes out of Myrrhine's house and watches them.] The examination of the embroidery proves that Glykera is the daughter of Pataikos, and Moschion becomes more and more certain of his identity with the brother who she says was exposed with her. When Pataikos has explained that he exposed the children because their mother had died and he had become a poor man, Glykera describes the other half of the trinkets, which her brother had had. Moschion is then certain; he comes forward and announces himself as the son of Pataikos [and is duly accepted].

(Here again the text deserts us.<sup>2</sup> This gap is less important than the gap between the third and the fourth act, because the essential next stage—the reconciliation of Polemon and Glykera—is preserved. When the text re-opens, Polemon already knows about the recognition (408 : 414) and has contemplated suicide;

<sup>1</sup> Doris is summoned in 328; she comes out in 331 and her words there are parallel to her words in 68; roughly she means 'My poor mistress! What is it? Oh, your poor hair.' Körte's explanation does not notice that Doris is weeping before Glykera has even asked for the robe.

<sup>2</sup> Some 265 lines separate the last preserved line of the recognition scene from the end of the play; 50 are preserved; perhaps 30 are needed to finish the play. The balance for the gaps is about 180.

he is certain that Glykera, having found her relations, is lost to him for ever ; he knows nothing about the possibility of reconciliation until Doris tells him. Further, when the text re-opens, Glykera and Pataikos are already in Pataikos' house. The following reconstruction seems possible.)

[ACT IV, Sc. 3. Glykera goes over to Pataikos' house after the recognition. Pataikos and Moschion remain on the stage, and call Philinos out to explain the situation.<sup>1</sup> Pataikos and Philinos retire to their respective houses.]

[ACT IV, Sc. 4. Moschion soliloquises rather despairingly on the situation. Daos comes out to him and is told how things now lie. Moschion goes into Pataikos' house. Daos summons Doris from Myrrhine's house to transfer Glykera's belongings to Pataikos' house.]

[ACT IV, Sc. 5. Sosias is sent out by Polemon to spy out the land and meets Daos and/or Doris and so hears of the recognitions. Sosias returns to Polemon ; Daos goes into Myrrhine's house and Doris into Pataikos' house.]

[ACT V, Sc. 1. Polemon comes out and gives way to complete despair ; the only solution that he can see is suicide. As he goes off, Doris comes out of Pataikos' house] and tells him that Glykera will come back to him. He is astounded and promises Doris her freedom and tells her to go back and see what is going on :

" Little Glykera, how completely you have captured me. It was her brother she kissed and not a lover. But I, accursed, envious fool, thinking I was wronged, immediately went mad. Therefore I was right to think of hanging myself."

Doris returns to tell him that Glykera is coming to him. As he hears Pataikos' door creak, he runs away in fear.

ACT V, Sc. 2. Pataikos comes out, saying to Glykera : " I am wholly delighted by your ' I will be reconciled to him '. To accept satisfaction, when you are on the crest of the wave is evidence of your Hellenism." Polemon is called out and Pataikos gives him his daughter.

" Pa. For the rest forget that you are a soldier and do nothing else violent in anger. Po. By Apollo, when I was now so nearly ruined, shall I do anything

<sup>1</sup> To this scene probably belongs fr. 392 ὅμως δ' ἀπόδειξον ταῦτα τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ. Pataikos tells Philinos to show Myrrhine Glykera's γυνωρίσματα.

else violent? I shall not blame Glykera. Only be reconciled, dearest. GL. Yes, for your madness was the beginning of our joy. Po. That is true. GL. Therefore I have forgiven you."

Pataikos refuses to go into Polemon's house until he has arranged Moschion's marriage.

[Act V, Sc. 3. Pataikos arranges the marriage of Moschion to the daughter of Philinos.<sup>1</sup>]

### III

Rather more than a third of the play is preserved, and though many elements in my reconstruction are conjectural, the main lines of development are certain. The chief ingredients are two major characters, two minor characters, a recognition story, some excellent fooling, and an idea. Although the first scene, in which Polemon showed his rage, and the final monologue, in which the audience saw the depths of his despair, are lost, the account of Polemon given by Ignorance, the scene with Pataikos, and the closing scenes show his character well enough. Glykera too is clear cut in her independence, her loyalty, and finally her magnanimity, although we badly miss her first scene and her scene with Myrrhine (acted or reported). The clash between these two characters is the main interest of the play. The recognition story provides the movement and a good scene in the fourth act, but its necessity is to make possible the reconciliation of Polemon and Glykera.

The two minor characters who are preserved serve as foils for Polemon and Glykera. Polemon and Glykera are both serious, perhaps too serious, Polemon in the tradition of the Homeric Achilles and Glykera inheriting something from the Sophoclean Antigone. Moschion and Pataikos take life too lightly; that is obviously true of Moschion—he lives a life of pleasure and is the darling of *hetairæ*; at the end he is given a wife to sober him.<sup>2</sup> Pataikos, although he appears in the play as a wise and

<sup>1</sup> Someone follows Pataikos' announcement with the exclamation:  $\hat{\omega} \gamma\hat{\eta}$ . Capps and others compare *Heautontimorumenos*, 1061, when Clitipho objects to the lady proposed by his parents and chooses another. But Moschion does not appear to be present; Körte must therefore be right in giving  $\hat{\omega} \gamma\hat{\eta}$  to Polemon.

<sup>2</sup> Clitipho of the *Heautontimorumenos* is most like Moschion; Moschion of the *Samia* has some of the same characteristics.

sober counsellor of the two chief characters, has also refused his responsibilities ; even if he was justified in exposing his children, as most Greeks and possibly Menander would agree, he had since become rich and had not married again, and Menander apparently disapproved of wealthy bachelors.<sup>1</sup> Somewhere between the violence of Polemon, the hardness of Glykera, the irresponsibility of Pataikos and the light-headedness of Moschion lies an ideal of sane conduct, which Polemon and Glykera reach in their reconciliation : Pataikos calls it evidence of Hellenism.

The slaves in the *Perikeiromene* provide, besides enlightenment on their master's characters,<sup>2</sup> excellent fooling : e.g. Daos' choice of lives (86 f.), the contest of Sosias and Daos (183 f.), the siege scene (217 f.). These scenes are in the tradition of fifth-century comedy, and parallels from Aristophanes are easy to quote.<sup>3</sup> But whereas in Aristophanes the fooling, sometimes verbal quips, sometimes knockabout action, is the soul of the comedy and pervades every scene, in the *Perikeiromene* the passages of fooling are clearly separated from the serious scenes in which fooling has no place ; Sosias and his storming party are dismissed before Pataikos takes Polemon to task for his treatment of Glykera. If more of Menander survived, it might be possible to trace a chronological sequence of decreasing fooling. The siege scene of Terence's *Eunuch* (771 f.), quoted above on the siege scene of the *Perikeiromene*, was almost certainly taken from Menander's *Kolax*, which can be dated to the same period as the *Perikeiromene*<sup>4</sup> and also contains the traditional exaggerated portrait of the boastful soldier and his flatterer.<sup>5</sup> A second play, which can be dated early, the *Samia*,<sup>6</sup> has scenes of knockabout between Demeas and the cook (142) and between Demeas and Nikeratos (224) as well as scenes between Moschion and Parmenon which recall the Moschion/Daos scene of the *Perikeiromene*. The wildest scene surviving is from the *Perinthia* (1-22), where the infuriated Laches proposes to burn his slave Daos alive ; it

<sup>1</sup> He marries off Micio at the end of the *Adelphi* (937) and makes Megadorus sue for the hand of Euclio's daughter in the *Aulularia* (120 f.).

<sup>2</sup> 53-69, 162 ; cf. Onesimos in the *Epitrepones*, particularly 243 f., 558 f.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. choice of lives, *Knights*, 160 ; contest, *Acharnians*, 1095 ; siege *Clouds*, 1476.

<sup>4</sup> Körte, xlix.

<sup>5</sup> Frs. 293, 295, 297 ; cf. *Poenulus*, 470.

<sup>6</sup> Körte, xl.

is tempting to assume that the *Andria*, a play with a similar plot, in which the slave gets off with a beating, is later.<sup>1</sup> The subject deserves fuller treatment but the evidence suggests that the *Perikeiromene* is earlier than the *Epitrepones*, which has less comedy of this kind ; by the same criterion the *Aulularia* and *Cistellaria* are early and the *Heautontimorumenos* and the *Adelphi* late.

The theme of reconciliation between two lovers occurs in other plays of Menander besides the *Perikeiromene*. It is tempting to conjecture similarity of theme for two plays which are very similar to the *Perikeiromene* in title, the *Rhapizomene* or 'girl who gets her ears boxed' and the *Empimpramene* or 'girl who is set on fire'. The former has left a fragment reminiscent of the view taken by Ignorance (45) and Pataikos (316) of Polemon's act (fr. 426) : "A misfortune differs from an injustice, one comes from fortune, the other from will" ; it looks as if someone defended the ear-boxer to the girl in the same terms as Pataikos defended Polemon to Glykera. In the other play a slave tells his master (fr. 155) : "There are three things which cause everything, law, necessity, and, thirdly, custom" ; he probably continues, "but yours is an act of unjustifiable violence". The same man, who should correspond to Polemon, is told (fr. 156) : "You will be destroyed by what you take most pride in, your belief that you are somebody". Again it would seem that a proud man commits a wild deed in anger and is ultimately reconciled.

Considerable fragments survive of the *Misoumenos*, 'the hated man'. There the soldier, Thrasonides, has committed no crime against the girl, Krateia, except that he has captured her in war, possibly in Cyprus (fr. 340).<sup>2</sup> She has rejected his advances, not, I think, because he sickens her with his campaigning stories, as Leo suggests,<sup>3</sup> but because he is her captor. The play opens with Thrasonides unable to sleep because he refuses to take advantage of Krateia ; although he is most madly in love, he respects her dislike of him (fr. 336, 341). He laments his lot to the slave Getas in words which recall the Herakles of

<sup>1</sup> Körte, liii.

<sup>2</sup> Probably from a prologue speech spoken by a god.

<sup>3</sup> *Plantinische Forschungen*, 126, comparing Lucian *meritrices*, 13.

Sophocles' *Trachiniae* (1058-1063), just as Polemon's lamentations reminded us of the Homeric Achilles : "A cheap little girl has enslaved me who never yet yielded to any foe" (fr. 338).<sup>1</sup> He asks Getas for a sword to commit suicide and is furious when Getas refuses him ; he sends gifts to Krateia and she will not accept them. Like Polemon, he has left his own house and is living in a friend's house, using Getas as a scout.<sup>2</sup> Like Polemon, he has been told of another lover, whom he believes to be a rival and he prepares armed resistance ; but the so-called lover is Krateia's father Demeas, come to ransom her. This fundamentally changes the relative positions of Krateia and Thrasonides : Krateia, like Glykera, has discovered her father and the initiative now lies with her.<sup>3</sup> Thrasonides is as frightened as Polemon,<sup>4</sup> and asks his own father to plead for him ; the only alternative that he can see is suicide. The play ends with a reconciliation,

<sup>1</sup> Arrian (fr. 338K) gives the main lines of the first act, which probably included a prologue speech by a god or goddess.

<sup>2</sup> Thrasonides is not in his own house in the preserved papyrus fragment ; Kleinias may be the friend who entertains him ; Thrasonides, like Polemon (*Perikeiromene*, 221), finds no pleasure in drinking—fr. 339, 'Drink will uncover the wound which is plastered over and wants to be hid'.

<sup>3</sup> L. 18 f. makes this clear. From l. 1 f. it appears that Getas had been used by Demeas' start to give 'tokens' or a 'letter' (p. 3 συμβόλας, περιβολάς, or ἐπιστολάς) to Krateia's nurse ; he assumed that Demeas was a lover and reported this to Thrasonides ; on Thrasonides' authority, or his own, he posted a guard (11) round the house. Getas is commenting on this situation when the papyrus fragment starts, and goes inside to see if he can learn any more from the women (6) ; as he goes in, the nurse comes out. Then Demeas arrives. The swiftness of the recognition implies an earlier scene in which Krateia and the nurse had discussed the tokens as portending Demeas' arrival. Seeing Krateia leave the house Getas follows her and finds her embracing her father. (In spite of the likeness to *Poenulus*, 1296 ff. I see no justification for introducing Thrasonides ; Demeas probably says πᾶτ, τί τοῦθ ; the rest belongs to Getas.) Then presumably Getas is told the truth, which he reports to Thrasonides. The next fragment (O.X. Pap. 1013) is badly preserved ; it is however certain, that Thrasonides' misery is described by Getas or Kleinias (34, 41) and that Demeas mentions the ransoming of Krateia (44). (Getas and Kleinias are given by the stage directions : Demeas by the vocatives (38, 45). Why Kleinias should proclaim himself a misogynist (it is difficult to supply anything but μισῶ in 45) ; the double dots at the end of the line show the sentence to be complete and therefore gnomic, and how l. 44 is to be restored remains unclear.) The scene between Thrasonides and his father follows shortly (it is on the back of the same papyrus page).

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Misoumenos*, 60 f., with *Perikeiromene*, 424 f.

which must have been brought about by the generosity of Krateia, acknowledging the fundamental decency and self-control of Thrasonides.

The *Arbitrants*, which is better preserved, leads us further into Menander's ideas. Charisios discovers from his slave that his wife, Pamphile, has had a child in his absence. Like Polemon, he leaves his own home for a friend's house (*Chairestratos*) ; like him, he gets no pleasure from wine or from the harpist (*Habrotonon*) he has provided,<sup>1</sup> and he conceives a great loathing for the slave who told him the news (247). Then he discovers that he himself is the father of a child (he had got drunk at a night festival the year before) and that his wife, knowing this, had nevertheless refused to leave him : she told her father "she had come to share her husband's life and she had no right to run away from the misfortune that had befallen them" (601).<sup>2</sup> He bitterly repents his cruelty in refusing to forgive "a woman's unwilled misfortune" ; twice he calls himself a barbarian (578, 604).

Husband and wife are the main characters in the play and, like Polemon and Glykera, are offset against other characters. Chairestratos is a second Moschion, a lightweight, who for the moment is in love with the harpist, Habrotonon.<sup>3</sup> Unlike Moschion, he is not essential for the movement, but, like Moschion for Polemon, he is a foil for Charisios, who, having forgotten his one wild night, prides himself on being a philosopher who made no mistakes, "pure and irreproachable" (590) as the peasant in Euripides' *Orestes* ;<sup>4</sup> in fact, Chairestratos is what Smikrines

<sup>1</sup> *Epitrepones*, 256 f. Habrotonon in the *Perikeiomene* was probably equally unsuccessful with Polemon.

<sup>2</sup> In assessing Pamphile's character it should be noticed that Habrotonon calls Charisios' act an *ἀδίκημα* (323). Lyconides in the *Aulularia*, who also acted *per vinum*, describes his act variously : *facinus* (733), *iniuria* (794), both = *ἀδίκημα* ; *stultitia* (752), *μωρία* ; *imprudens peccavi* (792), *ἄκων ημαρτον*.

<sup>3</sup> The evidence lies in ll. 6 (for which an earlier scene, now lost, must have prepared), 455 (Chairestratos expresses his astonishment at the apparent discovery that Habrotonon is the mother of Charisios' child), 649 f. (cf. 654 f. with *Perikeiomene*, 150). I am now convinced that Simmias is not a third friend but the slave of Chairestratos.

<sup>4</sup> 922 : according to Wilamowitz 'unconscious borrowing' ; I should prefer to say 'conscious reminiscence'.

believes Charisios to be. Smikrines, the wordly, miserly father-in-law (reminiscent of Euclio in the *Aulularia*) takes the place of Pataikos because here Menander needs his old man as an irritant rather than as an emollient. Habrotonon is not only necessary for the exposition and the movement of the plot ; her gaiety, activity, and realism contrast her with the wife, Pamphile, in much the same way as Chairestratos is contrasted with Charisios.

The arbitration scene, which gave the play its name, occupies a seventh of the whole play and appears to be of disproportionate size for its importance in the story, but the nice decision that the trinkets exposed with the baby must belong to the baby and not to the finder is another example of that discriminating humanity which informs Charisios' and Pamphile's views of each other's mistakes, and therefore foreshadows their reconciliation. It also of course provides the machinery for reconciliation, and undoubtedly the discovery that Charisios had unwittingly and unrecognised violated his own future wife eases the practical difficulties of reconciliation. But the essential factors are the wife's ideal of sharing her husband's life and the husband's definition of his act and hers as 'unwilled misfortune'. Idea and terminology are familiar from the *Rhapizomene* (fr. 426) and the *Perikeiromene* (45; 316). Both came to Menander from Aristotle's *Ethics* probably through Theophrastus, who was Aristotle's pupil and Menander's teacher, but this problem, like many others that received their final analysis and codification in the fourth century, was already discussed in the fifth century : the crime committed in ignorance is the subject of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* and *Trachiniae*—and Euripides in the *Auge* (a play which Menander quoted more than once)<sup>1</sup> comes very near to fourth-century phraseology when Herakles, who had violated Auge, says : "It was wine that made me mad. I admit I wronged you, but the wrong was unwilled."

#### IV

Charisios calls his failure to pardon his wife's misfortune "barbarian", i.e. un-Greek. Pataikos calls Glykera's readiness

<sup>1</sup> *Auge*, fr. 265 ; Menander quotes this play again *Heros*, 84 ; *Epitrepones*, 765.

to pardon Polemon in her moment of triumph a sign of Hellenism. In the fifth century Glykera's conduct might have been called "modest" (*σώφρων*) or "honourable" (*καλὸς*) but would hardly have been called Greek unless the situation so demanded, e.g. in a play about the Trojan war. The essence of this Hellenism would appear to lie in the ability to distinguish between motive and act, and elsewhere Menander (fr. 617K) describes Greeks as men of judgment who do nothing without deliberation. How does it come about that in a time of continual revolutions and wars throughout the Greek world Menander calls a gracious act a sign of Hellenism?

During the Persian wars the Greeks had naturally been conscious of the differences between themselves and the Eastern peoples. Aeschylus in the *Supplices* and *Persæ* saw three obvious marks: the appearance and clothing of Asiatics, their *hybris*, and their obedience to a despot. The mid-fifth-century Hippocratic treatise, *On Airs, Waters, and Places*, grounds the difference partly on climate and partly on method of government, and thus describes the Athenians (24): "where the land is bare, waterless, rough, oppressed by storms and burnt by the sun, there men are hard and dry and well-knit with energetic keenness and vigilance of mind; their character and temper is stubborn and independent and they have more fierceness than tameness in their composition; you will also find them keener and more intelligent in art and industry and better in war".<sup>1</sup> Euripides, besides repeating the old views,<sup>2</sup> advances the idea of Hellenic laws which are observed by all Greek cities, three instances may be quoted: respect for the dead (*Suppl.* 311), assistance to kinsmen in distress (*Or.* 486), and the rights of parents (*Alc.* 687). These probably to a large extent coincide with the "unwritten and sure laws of the gods" in Sophocles' *Antigone* and "the unwritten laws which bring acknowledged shame" of Pericles' funeral speech;<sup>5</sup> but Euripides calls them Hellenic and so makes a possible foundation for international Greek ethics.

<sup>1</sup> The point is later developed by Aristotle, *Politics*, 1327b, 19 f.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. barbarians as slaves: *IA.* 1400, *Hel.* 276; barbarian *ἱθρις*, *Med.* 536, *Tro.* 764.

<sup>3</sup> *Ant.* 454; *Thuc.* ii, 37, 3.

In the early fourth century Plato clearly distinguishes war between Greeks from war between Greeks and barbarians ; only the latter is called *polemos* ; the former he calls *stasis*, a name hitherto reserved for civil war within a Greek city state. He lays down special rules for war between Greeks ;<sup>1</sup> the dead are not to be stripped ; trees and crops are not to be cut down, although the year's harvest may be removed ; houses are not to be burned down ; "they will only pursue their quarrel until the guilty are compelled by the innocent sufferers to pay the penalty". The common Hellenic character of Greek cities weighs more heavily with Plato than their temporary differences. A more militant Panhellenism was preached by Isocrates through all his life until he finally found a champion in Philip of Macedon. The reasons for a crusade against Persia were two-fold : first, the economic need to recapture Eastern markets<sup>2</sup> at a time when Greece had become over-industrialised, and secondly, the political need to unify Greece, as Greece had been unified by the earlier Persian and still earlier Trojan wars. Pericles had justified the Athenian empire by claiming that Athens was an education to Greece ; Isocrates claims that superior education in thought and its expression distinguishes Greek from barbarian just as it distinguishes man from beast and Athenians from other Greeks (*Antidosis*, 293) ; in fact, "as a result of Athenian philosophy, the name of Greek belongs to a type of intellect rather than to a nationality, and a share in Athenian education is a stronger title to the appellation than community in blood" (*Panegyricus*, 49). As Professor Jaeger has said,<sup>3</sup> "the only meaning that can possibly be given to the universal exaltation of Greek *paideia* which fills Isocrates' thought is this : the Greeks, through the *logos*, over which they naturally have command, have revealed to other nations a principle which they too must recognise and adopt because its value is independent of race—the idea of *paideia*, of culture".

It is in Isocrates' sense of Greek that Menander uses the word in the *Perikeiromene*, but between Isocrates and Menander stand

<sup>1</sup> *Republic*, 469b-471b ; cf. Jaeger, *Paideia*, II, 255-6, 410.

<sup>2</sup> Rostowtzoff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic Age*, 104 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Paideia*, III, 80.

the gigantic figures of Alexander and Aristotle, who in their different ways turned Isocrates' sermons into reality. Two very different strains can be seen in their thought about the East ; the propaganda line of the Persian expedition must have been that Alexander was a second Achilles leading the Greeks to conquer the barbarians ; in this spirit Aristotle " counselled Alexander to treat the barbarians as a master and the Greeks as a leader, caring for the latter as friends and kindred, and looking after the former as he would animals and plants ".<sup>1</sup> The other strain, which also derives ultimately from the fifth-century sophists, can be seen in Xenophon's *Education of Cyrus*, which described the old Persian education as something admirable and imitable, and in the praise of early Persian religion in Plato's *Epinomis* and Aristotle's *De Philosophia*. This suggested the possibility of uniting the best of Greece and the best of Persia, which Alexander tried to achieve by intermarriage and by the appointment of Iranian satraps.<sup>2</sup>

Menander echoes this dream of the brotherhood of man when one of his characters says :<sup>3</sup> " No one is a stranger to me if he be good. All are one in blood. Character constitutes the kinship." The dream was not yet capable of fulfilment and for the present it was enough that Aristotle should have analysed and codified five hundred years of Greek thought so that a form of Panhellenism was in fact realised by Greek cities in the succeeding centuries. Historians have noticed the signs of a new international Greek ethics being put into practice :<sup>4</sup> arbitration became common for the settlement of minor conflicts between cities, and cities made agreements regarding the enslavement of their respective citizens, who might become prisoners of war ; specialists were loaned from city to city, e.g. doctors to attend the sick in epidemics or the hurt in earthquakes. There was a general spread of humanity also in private life, particularly with regard to slaves.

Menander's plays embodied the new Hellenic ideal, and their popularity contributed to its dissemination. His comedies were

<sup>1</sup> Tierney, *Studies*, 1942, 228.

<sup>2</sup> On the importance of Alexander's idea, see Tarn, *Cambridge Ancient History*, XIII, 437.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. 602 ; cf. fr. 533.

<sup>4</sup> See Rostowtzoff, *op. cit.*, 1109 ff.

still acted in Athens in the second century B.C., and scholars began producing commentaries on his works soon after his death. The occurrence of comic masks on South Italian vases suggests contemporary production in South Italy, and Plautus adapted selected plays into Latin in the third century B.C. Menander was a school book in Egypt in 160 B.C. and was read there until the sixth century A.D. His part therefore, was not small in propagating the Greek ideal of humane discrimination as an essential part of that Hellenistic civilization which gave Christianity its terminology and some of its forms of thought. Whether conscious or not, St. Paul's quotation of Menander is also the acknowledgement of a debt.

THE LIFE OF JESUS :  
A SURVEY OF THE AVAILABLE MATERIAL.  
(4) THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW.<sup>1</sup>

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THE Gospels of Matthew and John present the most formidable difficulties to the student of early Christian literary history. The present paper will attempt to deal with some of the problems concerning the origin and dissemination of the Gospel according to Matthew.\* It may be salutary to begin by surveying the difficulties that have to be met. First is the fact that some sources of early information, which were available for the study of Lukan origins, are not at our disposal for Mt. The *Muratorian Canon* undoubtedly had something to say about this Gospel ; but the relevant part of the document has unfortunately been lost. Again the *Anti-Marcionite Prologues* to the Gospels fail us for Mt. Our earliest information comes from Papias, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian. Our second difficulty arises from the existence, in the Eastern part of the early Christian world, of a Gospel or Gospels in ' Hebrew ', appearing under a variety of designations and used by a variety of people, and related in some way to Mt. The surviving fragments are more astonishing than edifying ; and patristic statements about the Semitic Gospel or Gospels are extremely confused and bewildering. The third difficulty arises out of the other two. It is that our earliest traditions about Mt. speak of a composition by Matthew in ' Hebrew ' ; the Fathers tend to identify this ' Hebrew ' original of Mt. with one or other of the ' Hebrew ' Gospels circulating in the East ;

<sup>1</sup> A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 13th of February, 1946.

\* Hereinafter Mt. = the Gospel, Matthew = the Evangelist. Both names are used as labels, without prejudice to the question whether they are, in fact, the right labels.

and yet our Gospel according to Matthew is quite clearly a Greek document, made up from Greek sources, of which our Greek Mk. is one. These are the problems we have to face : we may begin by marshalling the scanty evidence from early patristic sources.

### I. *Traditions Regarding Mt.*

Here pride of place belongs to Papias, who has already appeared as the transmitter of earlier tradition regarding the work of Mark. He has a single brief statement about the activities of Matthew. It is as follows :—

Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἐβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνετάξατο,  
ἥρμηνευσεν δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἔκαστος.<sup>1</sup>

‘ So then, Matthew compiled the oracles in the Hebrew language ; but everyone interpreted them as he was able.’

This sentence has been as widely discussed as almost any in the literature of the early Church. The main points are : (1) whether it merely represents the views of Papias himself or is an earlier tradition handed on by him ; (2) whether it refers to Mt. (as we know it and also in an earlier Semitic form), or, as many scholars from Schleiermacher to Eduard Meyer have held, to the Synoptic source Q, or to some other document. As these points are of vital importance I propose to examine some recent discussions of them.

The works with which I am particularly concerned are *Studies in Matthew* by the late Prof. Bacon, and a pamphlet entitled *The Logia in Ancient and Recent Literature*, by the late Fr. John Donovan. These two writers are agreed on one point—though they differ on almost every other—namely that *τὰ λόγια* in the Papias fragment meant the Gospel of Matthew and nothing else. Bacon, however, regards the fragment as the composition of Papias himself ; Donovan thinks (p. 33) that it came to him from John the Elder. Bacon regards the fragment as worthless : Donovan regards it as early and valuable evidence. Bacon tries to explain the choice of the odd

<sup>1</sup> Papias ap. Eus. *HE*. iii. 39. 16.

name  $\tau\alpha\lambda\omega\gamma\alpha$  for the Gospel by saying that it is a description of the Gospel in terms of what were for Papias its most important contents, i.e. the five great discourses incorporated in it. Donovan on the other hand maintains that Papias or rather his source called the Gospel  $\tau\alpha\lambda\omega\gamma\alpha$  because that was what  $\tau\alpha\lambda\omega\gamma\alpha$  meant. Bacon—on his view of the matter—has to furnish some explanation of the way in which Papias arrived at the curious conclusions embodied in the fragment: Donovan is not under that necessity.

It will be obvious that the point on which everything turns is that of the meaning of the words  $\tau\alpha\lambda\omega\gamma\alpha$ ; but before attempting to deal with that question, I may indicate the points on which I am inclined to agree with the adversary. I should think it probable that Papias himself, at the time when he wrote the words, understood them to refer to the Gospel. Further I should agree with Donovan against Bacon that the fragment on Mt. is tradition derived by Papias from the Elder John—or some similar source.

It has been argued that there is nothing in Eusebius to indicate that the Mt. fragment is traditional material: and it is true that Eusebius does not expressly describe it as such. But there is a certain amount of indirect evidence. There is first the evidence of Papias himself, quoted by Eusebius in *HE*. iii. 39. 3 f., that he set great store by what was handed down from earlier times and took great pains to acquire such traditional material wherever he could. Second, and even more important, is Eusebius' own estimate of Papias given in this same chapter (§ 13): 'For he evidently was a man of exceedingly small intelligence, as one might say judging from his discourses' (Lawlor and Oulton's translation). Is it likely that Eusebius would have troubled to quote the private opinion of a man, whom he rated as low as this, on a point of such importance? It seems to me that the probabilities are against it and that we are justified in supposing that Eusebius regarded this fragment as a piece of earlier tradition preserved by Papias. He may have been mistaken about that, but that is another question.

If this inference is correct, it cuts at the roots of Bacon's view that Papias' account is Papias' own composition made up

from what he could infer from having in his hands a copy of Matthew's Gospel with the superscribed name of the supposed author. But we must nevertheless examine the process by which Papias is supposed to have reached his conclusion about the Gospel a little more closely.

'Matthew compiled the oracles.' The Gospel purports to be by Matthew. True it contains much more than oracles; but then 'the oracles' is not the title of the book but a description of it in terms of its contents, and not the whole contents, but only those things in which Papias was specially interested—the five great discourses compiled out of separate oracles of the Lord.

'In the Hebrew tongue' is a simple inference. Papias knew that Jesus and the Apostles spoke not Greek but Aramaic (= Hebrew). Hence the Greek Gospel must first of all have been written in the native language of the Apostle.

'Every one translated as he was able.' We know that in bilingual countries the practice obtained in public worship of reading Scripture in the original and then giving a rendering in the vernacular. Papias probably knew this too and used the fact to account for the appearance of Mt. in a Greek dress. But if this is so, we should have expected the imperfect instead of the aorist, to describe what was a regular practice in bilingual churches. The statement of Papias does not read like an attempt to explain how Greek Mt. arose out of a process of casual targumming, but like an attempt on somebody's part to explain the existence of differing Greek versions of an original Aramaic document.

The upshot is that the testimony of Papias to Matthew's Gospel is pure guesswork and—on Bacon's view—his guesses are all wrong. The only thing that can be safely inferred is—I suppose—that at the time when Papias wrote, the superscription *κατὰ Μαρθαῖον* was already part of the text of Mt.

At this point the question arises again: suppose that Papias is not freely composing, but reporting something from older tradition. What then? Must we accept an interpretation of the tradition—even so ingenious an interpretation as Bacon's—when all that it does is to make nonsense of our earliest bit of

external evidence? Would it not be worth while to look again and see whether the tradition does not fit the document Q, seeing that it will not fit the Gospel of Matthew. Suppose that what happened was not that Papias made a faulty analysis of the contents of Mt. and then wrote a misleading label and stuck it on the bottle, but that he found a label from another bottle and stuck it on to the Matthew bottle.

This seems to be the reasonable thing to do; but just at this point Donovan enters his protest. For the thesis of his pamphlet is that the words of Papias must refer to the Gospel of Matthew and nothing else *because that is what τὰ λόγια means*. He proposes to show that from the time of the LXX translation to the days of Papias and long after τὰ λόγια does not mean what we should naturally suppose it to mean, but something else. 'The oracles' is not the right translation. What the right translation is varies from place to place, and here in Papias it means 'the Gospel'. It is necessary, therefore, to dispose of this point before we can proceed further.

The task is complicated by the fact that while we are no longer allowed to translate τὰ λόγια by 'the oracles', it is not made clear what we are to say instead in the numerous places where τὰ λόγια occurs. Thus (p. 10) Donovan says, 'After perusal of the various passages where λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ or λόγια τοῦ κυρίου occurs in the O.T., it may be definitely stated that this expression conveys the idea which to us is familiar under the name of "Inspired Word" or "Divine Revelation"'. 'In Philo, as in Josephus, λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ is the virtual equivalent of our "Scripture".' In Rom. iii. 2, ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ, 'the Apostle is merely proclaiming the historical fact that the Jews held the custody of the Old Testament' (p. 11). In Acts vii. 38 (Stephen's speech) 'λόγια ζῶντα is manifestly used to signify the revelation made directly to Moses. It is here, as elsewhere equivalently "the Inspired Word" and inferentially the Scripture, in which that revelation is recorded' (p. 13).

There are two remarks to be made at once on this new interpretation: (i) It is surely very odd that the word λόγια, which proclaims in every letter that it is concerned with the verb

meaning ‘to speak’, should come to mean primarily that which is written, especially when there is such a word as *γραφή* lying ready to hand.

(ii) It is noteworthy that in order to carry out this interpretation the meaning of *τὰ λόγια* has to be generalised into something like ‘Scripture’. How we are to get back again to a particular book of Scripture, which is what is required for the Papias passage, is not so clear. But these are merely general objections ; and it is in the examination of the particular bits of evidence that this theory reveals its insufficiency. I therefore go on at once to state the results of an independent examination of the evidence.<sup>1</sup>

(1) LXX and other Greek versions of the O.T.

Here it is possible to distinguish four meanings of the word *λόγιον* or the plural *λόγια* :—

- (a) Direct oracular communications of God to man or prophetic oracles (6 cases).
- (b) Divine commands or precepts (13 cases).
- (c) Divine promises (16 cases).
- (d) Human utterance in worship (1 case).

In 7 cases the text is corrupt and nothing definite can be determined. In no case is it possible to get away from the idea of utterance. With the single exception—Ps. xviii. (xix). 14, where the meaning is human speech in worship as distinguished from meditation in the heart—all the cases considered, where the text is reliable, clearly indicate that it is God’s utterance that is meant, either directly to a prophet (once to a patriarch) or through such a medium to his people in commands and promises. That these utterances of Jehovah may be written down is not disputed, but that is nothing to do with the case. What is meant by the word is not Scripture but some things which are contained, along with other things, in Scripture, the things, namely, that God has said for the guidance or encouragement of Israel.

(2) Donovan asserts (p. 10) that ‘In Philo, as in Josephus, *λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ* is the virtual equivalent of our “Scripture”. For them it is *θεῖα γραφή*, nothing less than the Sacred Written

<sup>1</sup> The evidence is set out in the Appendix at the end of this article.

Word. It is unnecessary to quote examples, as the deduction drawn cannot be contested.' One wonders how one ought to translate such a passage as this from the *Contemplative Life* (ed. Conybeare, p. 61), *νόμους καὶ λόγια θεσπισθέντα διὰ προφήτων καὶ ὑμνους*. Further, according to Schlatter (*Die Theologie des Judentums*, p. 66). *λόγιον* is the regular word in Josephus for a prophetic utterance foretelling something.

(3) Really detailed discussion of texts by Donovan begins with the four passages in the N.T. where the word occurs. In each of these a better and more natural interpretation is obtained by sticking to the sense or senses of *λόγια* found in the LXX than by following Donovan. When 'Scripture' or an equivocal term like 'Revelation' is substituted the passages do not become clearer but more obscure. I take a single example. In Rom. iii. 2, Paul is trying to answer the question what advantage the Jew has over other people, and he begins thus : *πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ*. Donovan (p. 11) says : 'Here the Apostle is merely proclaiming the historical fact that the Jews had held the custody of the Old Testament. To them had been confided the Revelation of the Old Law, with guardianship of the Sacred Books.' Here the second sentence with its ambiguous word 'Revelation' rather fogs the clear impression produced by the first sentence. But if we take the meaning to be that the Jews had held the custody of the Sacred Books, how are we to interpret what Paul goes on immediately to ask ? 'Even supposing some of them have proved untrustworthy is their faithlessness to cancel the faithfulness of God ?' (Moffatt). What meaning can we assign to faithlessness in the custody of the O.T.? They had not lost or sold or otherwise made away with the Sacred Books.

We can find a perfectly good and satisfying meaning if we take *τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ* in the sense that is given in the LXX. There the primary meaning is oracles of God given to prophets ; and these oracles can be subdivided into commandments and promises. Then the faithlessness of the Jews is their disobedience to God's commands ; and the faithfulness of God is the fact that he will not go back on his promises. These commands and promises together make up the terms of the Covenant between

God and Israel : and Paul's point is that though Israel has broken the Covenant God still upholds it.

(4) When we turn from the New Testament to the Apostolic Fathers we find that the interpretation of *λόγια* established for the LXX and found to fit the N.T. passages answers equally well in the four passages in *I. Clem.*, one in *II Clem.*, and one in Polycarp. The same applies to the three examples in Justin Martyr. It would be wearisome to go through them all in detail : the conclusion which I should draw from my observations in these passages is somewhat as follows.

*Λόγιον* means in the first instance a divine revelation by way of a spoken word—normally the recipient of the *λόγιον* is a prophet and the process of revelation is audition in contrast to vision. The plural *τὰ λόγια* indicates a collection of such utterances. It does not mean Scripture as a whole or even a book of Scripture. It means a group of quite definite recognisable things which may be found in certain parts of Scripture. When Philo speaks of *τὸ τελευτῶν τῶν δέκα λογίων*, he does not mean by *τῶν δέκα λογίων* 10 Bibles or 10 Biblical books but 10 sentences known to us as the Ten Commandments. The passage already quoted from the *Contemplative Life* makes it clear where the *λόγια* are chiefly to be found in the O.T.—in the prophetic books. The usage of the LXX shows that the content of the *λόγια* can be summed up under two heads—commandments and promises of God. And it can fairly be claimed that this definition of *λόγια* in terms of form and content gives a perfectly good sense when applied to the passages in the N.T. and earliest Christian literature, where the word is used. When, therefore, Papias or his informant says that Matthew compiled *τὰ λόγια*, the simplest and most natural meaning to be given to the words is that Matthew made a collection of oracles, i.e. sayings analogous to those of the old prophets, uttered by divine inspiration and containing the commandments and promises of God for the new Israel, the Church of Christ.

'Matthew compiled *τὰ λόγια* in the Hebrew tongue and every man translated them as he was able.' This brief sentence makes four separate assertions :—

- (a) That a book of λόγια was composed.
- (b) That it was composed in the Hebrew tongue (i.e. probably in the spoken language of the Palestinian Jews—at that time = Aramaic. Parallels to this use of ‘Hebrew’ where ‘Aramaic’ is meant in Dalman, *Gramm.*, § 1.)
- (c) That the composer of this work was named Matthew—presumably the Apostle.
- (d) That various people translated it as best they could—doubtless into Greek.

If we try applying these propositions to the Gospel of Matthew we find that they do not fit. As applied to Mt. (a) and (d) are, I think, demonstrably false. One of the really assured results of Synoptic criticism seems to be the priority of Mk. : and, if that is so, Mt. becomes a Greek document from the first and not an Aramaic composition subsequently translated into Greek. It is true that Prof. Torrey in his book, *The Four Gospels*, maintains the view that Mt. is a translation from Aramaic ; but even he has to make allowance for the results of synoptic study by the hypothesis that ‘each of the translators, Mt. and Lk., adopts the Greek wording of his predecessor, wherever a faithful use of his source permits him to do so’ (p. 275). This would imply that the translator of Mt. had before him, not only the Aramaic original of this Gospel but also the Greek version of Mk. ; while Luke, who on Torrey’s reconstruction both composed and translated his Gospel, had his own Aramaic original, the Greek version of Mk. and the Greek version of Mt. This seems rather too elaborate to be plausible. Further it is worth noting that among the evidences of translation from Aramaic which Torrey finds in Mt., the most convincing in Marcan contexts are already to be found in Mk. That is to say they are not really evidence for an Aramaic original of Mt. in those sections at all. More than that : where Matthew does not reproduce Mk.’s supposed mis-rendering of a Semitic original, what he does give looks very like a conjectural improvement on Mark’s Greek rather than a correction of it from the Aramaic original. A good example of this is Mk. xiv. 72 = Mt. xxvi. 75. Mk. has καὶ ἐπιβαλὼν ἔκλαιεν. ἐπιβαλὼν has always been a problem. Torrey says it is a literal but unidiomatic rendering of an

Aramaic original which meant 'as he thought upon it'—i.e. his denial of the Lord. But Mt. has neither ἐπιβαλών nor anything representing the supposed Aramaic behind 'as he thought upon it'. He has ἔξελθών.

In general it may be said that the notes to Torrey's translation do not prove Aramaic originals for Mt. and Lk. At most they make a case for Aramaic sources behind those Gospels and possibly behind Mk. and Jn. also. Mt. remains a Greek work compiled most probably from Greek sources—of which Mk. in Greek was one. These sources may quite well go back to more primitive Aramaic documents of which they are translations. That the Gospel of Mt. ever existed *as a whole* in Aramaic I do not believe.

That Mt. consists of λόγια is not correct if we take λόγια in the plain and natural sense. It contains λόγια : indeed, it contains five considerable collections of λόγια ; but it is not itself τὰ λόγια. It is a book made up partly of collections of λόγια and partly of narrative.

Finally the statement that Mt. as we know it was the work of Matthew the Apostle is, to say the least, improbable.

Suppose then, seeing that the identification of τὰ λόγια with Mt. breaks down, we try again with the other way and see whether the four statements of Papias will fit Q.

(a) There was a compilation of the Oracles. This as applied to Q is absolutely correct. Q is a compilation of oracles—sayings of Jesus and nothing else, except a few similar oracles of John the Baptist, and a line or two of narrative in the Temptation story. But it may be objected that Q did contain narrative : that the story of the Centurion's servant stood in the document, and that some at least of the Q sayings have narrative settings. The answer is that there is no evidence that the story of the Centurion's servant stood in Q at all. What did stand there was the account of a conversation between Jesus and a Centurion, the point of which was the saying of Jesus, 'I have not found such faith—no, not in Israel'. Nor is there any evidence that the narrative settings of Q sayings belonged to Q. For, after all, what is the ground for believing that anything is derived

from Q? It is verbal agreement between Mt. and Lk. And the narrative settings of Q sayings and conversations is just the place where we do not get this agreement, but wide divergence. In the Centurion passage agreement between Mt. and Lk. begins where the conversation begins and ends where it ends. There is simply nothing to show that Q contained anything except sayings and conversations.

(b) and (c) This document was composed in Aramaic and everyone translated it as best he could. These two statements can be taken together : and the conditions are met if we can show a probability that (1) Q was written in Aramaic and (2) that Mt. and Lk. represent two versions of this Aramaic original. There are several lines of argument tending towards such a conclusion.

(i) The probabilities of the case. The sayings of Jesus were certainly uttered in Aramaic—perhaps some of them in scholastic Hebrew. If a collection of them were made, it would be most probable that it should be by one of his own circle and naturally in the original language. Jesus was regarded as 'the prophet of Nazareth' and it was in accordance with custom that the oracles of a prophet should be preserved by his disciples.

(ii) The analogy of the O.T. points to the possibility, at least, of several translations of such a document into Greek. There were at least four Greek versions of the O.T. made at various times and for various reasons.

(iii) We can compare the versions of Mt. and Lk. with parallel cases in O.T. For example the book of Daniel possesses two complete Greek versions, the old LXX and the translation of Theodotion. We select a passage at random and compare the two. The Aramaic passage Dan. vii. 9-14 is turned by LXX into 166 Greek words by θ' into 157. There is complete agreement in 105 of these and partial agreement in 12. The differences amount to about 27 per cent. of the total. We take a passage of about the same extent from Q—the testimony of Jesus to John the Baptist. Mt. gives it in 158 words, Lk. in 170. There is complete agreement about 115 words, partial agreement about 20 and the difference comes to about 19 per cent. of the total. Mt. and Lk. stand rather closer to one another

than LXX and  $\theta'$ ; but the general resemblance is very striking.

(iv) The most cogent evidence of translation is mistranslation. And such evidence is not wanting. The most notable instance is in the well-known Q passage about the cleansing of the inside and outside of the dish. Mt. correctly gives 'cleanse the inside of the dish' while Lk. has the absurd text 'give alms of the inside'. Wellhausen showed that Luke's 'give alms' is a mistranslation of the Aramaic verb rightly rendered by Mt. A similar misrendering may underlie 'Wisdom is justified of her children (works)' and 'He who does not take up his cross . . . is not worthy of me' }  
cannot be my disciple'

Fortunately such cases are rare enough to permit us to keep our confidence in the ability of the translators of Q.

(v) There is still another sign of translation in those cases where Mt. and Lk. have different words or phrases either of which is a legitimate rendering of a single Aramaic original. These are more numerous: and I have made a collection of them. All that is required is Hatch and Redpath's concordance to the LXX, Field's *Hexapla*, and unlimited patience. You start with a Q passage in which Mt. and Lk. are agreeing fairly closely. Then there comes a difference: Mt. uses one word, Lk. another. It may be that these are just different ways of rendering the same Semitic original. The matter can be tested. There are four Greek versions of the O.T. Unhappily three of them survive only in fragments, which are collected in Field's *Hexapla* and indexed in Hatch and Redpath. We can soon see whether the same divergence occurs in the Greek versions of the O.T. Now the interesting thing is that it does. In quite a number of cases we have exact parallels for the differences of wording in Mt. and Lk. in Greek texts which are undoubtedly translations of the same Hebrew original.

For example: He who does not take up his cross and follow me is not worthy of me (or cannot be my disciple).

Mt. x. 38 = Lk. xiv. 27.

Mt. has the verb  $\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{a}v\epsilon i$  (R.V. 'take up'). Lk. has  $\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{a}\zeta\epsilon i$  (R.V. 'bear'). Now in Numbers xiv. 33 f. the verb  $\aleph\omega\gamma$  occurs

twice. In the first case it is translated by *βαστάζειν* in σ' and in the second by *λαμβάνειν* in ο'. Here then we have in Mt. and Lk. possible alternative renderings of the same Semitic original ; and we know that they are possible because they actually occur in the Greek versions of the Hebrew O.T.

In Lk. vi. 37 : Judge not and ye shall not be judged.

Mt. vii. 1 : Judge not that ye be not judged.

Ex. xxx. 20 ο' : 'and they shall not die' } rendering identical  
21 ο' : 'that they die not' } Hebrew.

Similarly in I Reg. xxix. 7 : ο' καὶ οὐ μή. σ' ἵνα μή.

Lk. x. 6 and Mt. x. 13 : And if a son of peace be there your peace shall rest upon him : but if not, it shall turn to you again (ἀνακάμψει) ;

Mt. : let your peace return to you (ἐπιστραφήτω).

The same thing occurs in Ps. lviii (lix) twice, vv. 7 and 15 : ο' επιστρ. σ' ανακαμπ., and in Ezekiel viii. 17 : θερετρ. σ' ανακαμπ. In all cases translating the same Hebrew verb (בָּשַׁבַּח).

Lk. x. 3 : Behold I send you forth as lambs (ἄρνασ) in the midst of wolves.

Mt. x. 16 : Behold I send you forth as sheep (πρόβατα) in the midst of wolves.

Lev. iii. 7 : ο' ἄρνα. σ' πρόβατον (Heb. בָּשָׁבָח).

II Regn. vi. 13 : ο' ἄρνα. σ' πρόβατον (Heb. אִירְבָּה).

I have reserved to the last what seems to me the most interesting and instructive case of all. The Golden Rule is given by Mt. and Lk. in almost identical words. The main difference is in the few words at the beginning. Mt. (vii. 12) has πάντα οὖν ὅστα ἔὰν θέλητε ; Lk. (vi. 31) καὶ καθὼς θέλετε. In Gen. xliv. 1 ὅστα ἔὰν translates the Heb. כִּי מְאֻמָּן (Tg. זֶה אָמֵן) : in Gen. viii. 21 ; xviii. 5 ; xli. 13 καθὼς translates כִּי מְאֻמָּן (Tg. זֶה אָמֵן). It is thus possible to make the equation ὅστα ἔὰν (Mt.) = καθὼς (Lk.). The πάντα in Mt. is then left in the air. This, however, is easily explained. In eleven passages where Mt. is parallel to and presumably dependent on Mk. we have in Mt. some form of the word πᾶς to which nothing corresponds in the

Markan original. For example in relating the feeding of the four thousand Mk. says (viii. 8) : 'and they ate and were satisfied'; Mt. (xv. 37) : 'and they all ate and were satisfied'. That is to say one of the literary habits of the author of the First Gospel is to heighten his effects by using the word 'all' from time to time. It is easy to suppose that this is what has happened here. The question remains : which of the two renderings *ὅσα ἔαν* and *καθώς* comes nearer to the mind of Jesus. Both are legitimate renderings of what may be supposed to be the underlying Aramaic : yet there is a subtle difference. *ὅσα ἔαν* suggests individual acts—things to be done and things not to be done. It could easily become the foundation of a New Law-code. *καθώς* on the other hand suggests a manner of behaviour, a motive and spirit that should govern action. I add to this consideration the fact that the use of the pronoun rather than the adverb is in line with Jewish formulations of the Rule.

Hillel (b. *Sabb.* 31a) : דע לך לך עבדיך

*Tob.* iv. 15 : ὁ μισεῖς μηδενὶ ποιήσῃς.

Philo. (*ap. Eus. Praep.* viii. 7) : ἀ τις παθεῖν ἔχθαιρει,  
μὴ ποιεῖν αὐτόν.

We may also note that in the two versions of the Lord's Prayer, Mt.'s introductory *πάτερ ήμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* is a regular Jewish formula, while Luke's *πάτερ* agrees with our Lord's own practice (Mk. xiv. 36) and with the earliest church usage (Gal. iv. 6; Rom. viii. 15).

This discussion of the Golden Rule seems to me to show how it is possible to do something in detail towards a fairly reliable restoration of Q. Where Mt. and Lk. part company in a Q context there are at least two ways of seeking an explanation of the divergence. One is by applying the knowledge we can get about their editorial methods from comparison between them and Mk. where they are dependent on Mk. This method is illustrated by the *πάντα* in Mt.'s version of the Golden Rule. The other way is by reference to a possible underlying Aramaic original. In that case we may think that there has been mis-translation in one or other of the versions offered. Or we may

conclude, as in the present case, that both versions are legitimate renderings of the original, but that one is better than the other.

I do not maintain that the facts which we have been considering *prove* that Q is the Aramaic document called the *λόγια* in the Papias fragment. But I do maintain that the phenomena presented by Mt. and Lk., in the passages where we may suppose them to have used Q, are consistent with that hypothesis. Three out of the four propositions contained in the Papias testimony fit Q like a glove.

(d) There remains the fourth—that the author of this document was Matthew—presumably Matthew the Apostle. This, of course, cannot be tested in the same way as the others. There is, however, this much to be said for it :

(i) On the supposition that the Papias tradition does refer to Q, we can see that three of its four statements are reliable. There is therefore a presumption that the fourth will also hold good.

(ii) If the Papias statements really refer to Q then they must be much older than the time of Papias. That is, the tradition is thrown back to the end of the first century or the very beginning of the second. It is thus brought very close to the events which it reports.

(iii) An Aramaic original of Q implies a Palestinian authorship and that means a Palestinian Christian. Nobody else in Jewish circles would have the inclination to compile such a record and of those who would be inclined, those would be best qualified for the task who had been—in Lk.'s words—eyewitnesses and ministers of the word from the beginning. There was a Matthew among those who were in close contact with Jesus during his ministry. And there we are. The bits of the puzzle fit in satisfactorily enough. The whole thing is consistent on the supposition, not hard to make, that Papias had this older tradition about Q, and, misled by the mention of Matthew, supposed it to refer to the Gospel current in his day under Matthew's name.

Our conclusion is that the statement reported by Papias refers not to Mt., but to one of the sources of Mt., the document

Q. We now have to consider the other early *testimonia* in the light of this fact. We may well suppose that statements which speak of a Hebrew Gospel of Matthew prior in composition to all the others are either descended from the original misinterpretation of the tradition in Papias, or else are similar misinterpretations of a parallel tradition.

Irenaeus, iii. 1. 2 *ap. Eus. H.E.* v. 8. 2 : ὁ μὲν δὴ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἐβραιόις τῇ ἴδιᾳ αὐτῶν διαλέκτῳ καὶ γραφὴν ἔξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Πάνδον ἐν Ρώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

' Matthew published a Gospel in writing also, among the Hebrews in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching the Gospel and founding the church in Rome' (Lawlor and Oulton's translation).

Fragment 27 in Harvey's edition of Irenaeus (ii. 493) tells us that Mt. was written πρὸς Ἰουδαίους. The Jews desired a Messiah of Davidic descent, and Matthew set out to convince them that Christ was so descended.

Clement of Alexandria is reported by Eusebius (*H.E.* vi. 14. 5) to have inserted in his *Hypotyposes* a tradition of the primitive elders (*παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων*) regarding the order of the Gospels. It begins : προγεγράφθαι ἔλεγεν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τὰ περιέχοντα τὰς γενεαλογίας. 'He said that those of the Gospels that contain genealogies (i.e. Mt. and Lk.) had been written first'. This tradition will not square with the conclusions of Synoptic study.

The principal statements of Origen, as it happens, belong to the period after his removal from Alexandria to Caesarea. They are the *Commentary on John*, t. vi. 32 (ed. Brooke, i. 148); a scholion on Lk. i. 1 f. (Zahn, G.K. ii. 626 f.); and a passage from the *Commentary on Matthew*, quoted by Eusebius (*H.E.* vi. 25. 4). In the first of these Origen gives it as a tradition concerning Matthew that he was the first of the evangelists and produced his Gospel for Hebrew converts from Judaism. In the second he insists that Mt. is not one of the documents referred to in Luke's preface, since Matthew did not 'take in hand' to write a Gospel, but did so 'being moved by the Holy Spirit'.

The third again reports tradition to the effect that the first Gospel to be written was that of Matthew the ex-publican who became an Apostle of Jesus Christ and published it, a composition in the Hebrew language, for converts from Judaism. It may well be that this represents the tradition in Caesarea in the first half of the third century.

Tertullian (*adu. Marc.* iv. 2) maintains the apostolic origin of Mt. and Jn.

There are two points, in this small body of material, to which we should give our attention. The first is the date assigned by Irenaeus for the composition of Mt. It is a little difficult to dismiss this as the product of Irenaeus' imagination ; and I should not exclude the possibility that what he reports is in the main traditional and in its original form referred to Q. Its application to Mt. would then be a misinterpretation of the same kind as that in Papias.

The second point to be noticed is the stress laid on the purpose of the Gospel of Matthew. It is written in 'Hebrew' for Hebrews. Its purpose is to gain and confirm converts from Judaism. There can be little doubt that this opinion was fortified by the fact that in Palestine, where it is most at home, there coexisted information about a document or documents actually existing in a Semitic tongue and bearing a more or less close resemblance to our Mt. We have statements about this literature from a considerable number of early Fathers from Irenaeus to Epiphanius and Jerome ; and we have a number of extracts translated into Greek or Latin.

We may begin with the statement of Irenaeus (*Haer.* I. xxii ; Harvey, i. 213) where, describing the Ebionites he says : solo autem eo quod est secundum Matthaeum Euangelio utuntur, et apostolum Paulum recusant, apostamat eum legis dicentes. Quae autem sunt prophetica, curiosius exponere nituntur ; et circumciduntur ac perseuerant in his consuetudinibus, quae sunt secundum legem, et Iudaico charactere uitiae, uti et Hierosolymam adorent, quasi domus sit Dei. With this should be compared the account given by Eusebius (*H.E.* iii. 27), who seems to be dependent on Irenaeus, but, instead of 'the Gospel according to Matthew', has 'the Gospel called "according to the

Hebrews''''. Irenaeus' description of the Ebionites as a sect using Mt. only, rejecting Paul as an apostate from the Law, interpreting the O.T. (Messianic) prophecies in their own way, maintaining the Jewish Law and the Jewish customs including that of turning towards Jerusalem in prayer, all this gives us a glimpse of people whom we may fairly regard as the lineal successors of the Jewish Christians whom we find in opposition to Paul in the New Testament. Their Gospel is referred to by Origen and Eusebius, and perhaps also by Clement of Alexandria, as  $\tauὸν καθ' Ἐβραιὸν εὐαγγέλιον$ ; and in Eusebius (*H.E.* iii. 25. 5) we are told that it is used by  $'Ἐβραῖων οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι$ . By Jerome the people who use the Gospel according to the Hebrews (variously described as ipsum Hebraicum, Euangeliū iuxta Hebraeos, Eu. secundum Hebraeos, Eu. quod Hebraeo sermone conscriptum, Eu. . . . quod uocatur a plerisque Matthaei authentiam) are called Nazarei or Nazaraeni. Most probably we should regard this name as the equivalent of the designation applied to the Hebrew Christians by the Synagogue<sup>1</sup> (נצרים). The names of the sect (Ebionites, Nazarenes) reflect the speech of Palestine and Syria; the name of their Gospel (according to the Hebrews) reflects the terminology of the Gentile Christian communities.

This Gospel is sufficiently near to Mt. to be taken for the supposed 'Hebrew' original. Eusebius (*Theoph.* iv. 12) can compare its version of the Parable of the Talents with the text of Mt. and from it obtain a suggestion for the interpretation of Mt. xxv. 29 f. Finally a number of manuscripts of the Gospels (von Soden's I<sup>r</sup> group), which have some connexion with Jerusalem, give readings from  $\tauὸν Ἰουδαικόν$  as marginal notes to the text of Mt. There is a good deal of further evidence, all of which seems to point in the direction of the hypothesis that our Greek Mt. was translated into Hebrew or Aramaic at a very early date for the use of Jewish Christians in Palestine and Syria and that it did not escape modification, though not perhaps to a very great extent, with the passage of time.

<sup>1</sup> For a very clear statement of the matter regarding the terms *Ναζαρηνός* and *Ναζωραῖος* see G. F. Moore in *Beginnings of Christianity*, i. 426-432.

There are two bits of Rabbinic tradition which have their bearing on this. First there is the story told in *b. Sabb.* 116<sup>a,b</sup> concerning Imma Shalom, Rabban Gamaliel (II), and a (Jewish Christian) philosopher. This incident would be dated about the end of the first century, and in the course of the story the 'philosopher' refers to a written 'Gospel'. The point is that he refers to it by its Greek name *euāγγέλιον*; and the inference is that any written Gospels that were current among Jewish Christians at this date were the literary work of Gentile rather than Jewish Christianity. The other bit of Rabbinic evidence, given in *b. Sanhedrin* 43<sup>a</sup> names five disciples of Jesus and heads the list with Matthew (Ματθαῖος). We may infer that the prominence of Matthew was not unconnected with the earliest traditions which make him the compiler of the oracles of the Lord, and the later ones which attributed our First Gospel and the Semitic version of it to him.<sup>1</sup>

The conclusion of the study of the external evidence is that it suggests that the document Q was the work of Matthew; that he composed it in the vernacular of Palestine; that it consisted for the most part of sayings and speeches of Jesus; that various renderings of it (into Greek) were made; and that one of these renderings furnished material for the First Evangelist. Further it would seem that the First Gospel, when made, was very early translated into the Palestinian vernacular for the use of Jewish Christians, and as an instrument of propaganda among Jews. The name of Matthew, which had been mistakenly transferred from Q to the First Gospel, stuck, and continued to stick, until scientific study of the relations between the Gospels made the hypothesis of an original Hebrew Mt. untenable.

Scientific study of the Synoptic Gospels has established clearly enough what Mt. is: it is a revised and enlarged edition of Mk. It has also established fairly clearly that the reviser who produced Mt. betrays no acquaintance with the work of

<sup>1</sup> Of the Gospel used by the Ebionites described by Epiphanius in *Haer.* xxx, I do not think it necessary to say anything here. It is clear that if it began as a version of Mt. it had suffered drastic transformation before Epiphanius became acquainted with it. It does not seem likely that it can supply any light on the origins or early history of Mt.

Luke, nor does Lk. show any sign that its author had access to Mt. As Lk. was written for publication, and Mt. rapidly became very widely known and greatly valued in the Churches, the most likely explanation of this mutual ignorance is that Mt. and Lk. were produced about the same time. I have already argued for a date round about A.D. 70 for the composition of Lk.-Acts ; and it seems to me that a date in the decade following the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 is as likely as any for Mt.

Regarding the place of writing there is not much to be said that is not already in the standard works on Introduction to the New Testament. There are strong indications connecting the Gospel with the neighbourhood of Antioch ; and if that were the place of origin it would help to explain the rapid dissemination of Mt. in both East and West. In a way Mt. has some resemblances to Josephus' account of the Jewish war. This was written first in Aramaic soon after A.D. 70 to show the Eastern Jews that such revolts were foredoomed to failure. Shortly afterwards it was translated into Greek. One wonders if the First Gospel was not written about the same time in Greek and quickly translated into Aramaic to tell the same people for whom Josephus wrote, where the true hope of their nation lay.

#### APPENDIX.

##### 1. ΛΟΓΙΑ in the Greek versions of O.T.

Nu. xxiv. 3, 4. From a poetic utterance put in the mouth of Balaam. B. is subject.

φῆσιν βαλαὰμ νίος Βεωρ,  
φῆσιν δὲ αὐθωποσ δὲ αληθινωσ ὄρων,  
φῆσιν ακουων λογια θεου,  
όστισ ὄρασιν θεου ειδεν κτλ. v.l. ισχυρουν

M.T.

נָאֵם בְּלַעַם בֶּן בָּעַר  
וְנָאֵם הָגִבֵּר שְׁתִּים הַעַז :  
נָאֵם שְׁמַע אַמְרִי־אַל  
אֲשֶׁר מְחֻזָּה שְׁדֵי חַיָּה וְנוּ

Tg. O.  
Tg. J.

מִימֶר מִן קָדָם אֶל  
מִימֶר מִן קָדָם י' אֱלֹהָה חַיָּא

Here λογια θεου (אמרי אל) stands in parallelism with ὄρασων {θεου  
ισχυρους

(מחוה שדי) : and the meaning is thereby determined : divine revelations received in the form of auditions as distinct from those received in the form of visions.

Nu. xxiv. 16. From another poetic utterance of Balaam.

ακουων λογια θεου,  
επισταμενοσ επιστημην παρα υψιστουν,  
και ὄρασιν θεου ιδων κτλ.

נאם שמע אמרי אל וידע דעת עליון  
מחוה שדי יהוה וג' "

Tg. O. as above. Tg. J. מימר מן קדם אלהא

The meaning in this case is identical with that in xxiv. 4.

Dt. xxxiii. 9. From the ' Blessing of Moses ' to Levi.

ὅ λεγων τω πατρι και τη μητρι Ουχ ἔօρακα σε,  
και τουσ αδελφουσ αυτου ουκ επεγνω,  
και τουσ νίονσ αυτου απεγνω.  
εφυλαξεν τα λογια σου,  
και την διαθηκην σου διετηρησεν.

M.T.

כי שמו אמרתך

ובrichtך יצרו :

Tg. O.

ארי נטרו מתרת מירך וקימך לא אשניאו

Tg. J.

מטול דקיימין עשרין שנין במרתהך במירך

וקיים פולחן קורשך נטרין :

Here *τα λογια σου* stands in parallelism with *την διαθηκην σου* and means the command(s) of Jehovah. Cf. Driver, *ad loc.*

R. Simeon b. Jochai (c. 150) explains εφυλαξεν τα λ. του. as abstinence from idolatry and τ. διαθ. σου διετ. of the observance of circumcision. SNu. ix. 5, § 67 (17a). SB. II, 681. Cf. Ex. R. 19. SB. IV, 39.

Ps. xi (xii), 6 (7)

τα λογια Κυριου λογια ἀγνα

M.T.

אמרות יהוה אמרות טהרות

Tg.

מילין דיהוה מיליא דכין

Here the meaning appears to be that the promises of Jehovah—especially those favourable to his people—are reliable, notwithstanding appearances to the contrary.

Ps. xvii (xviii), 30 (31)

ὅθεος μου, αμωμοσ ἡ ὁδος αυτου,  
τα λογια Κυριου πεπυρωμενα  
ὑπερασπιστησ εστιν παντων τιων ελπιζοντων επ' αυτον.

M.T.

האל תמים דרכו  
אמרת יהוה צרופה  
מן הוא לכל החוסים בו :  
אורימא ביהוה בחריא

Tg.

In II Sam. xxii. 31, the LXX version is :

*ὅς ισχυρος, αμωμος ἡ ὁδος αυτου,  
τὸ ρῆμα Κυρίου κραταιον, πεπυρωμενον·  
ὑπέρεασπιστης εστιν πασιν τοισ πεποιθοσιν επ' αυτῳ.*

M.T. = that of  $\psi$ .

Tg. II S. as above.

The sense seems to be much the same as in  $\psi$  xi (xii) above.

Ps. xviii (xix), 14 (15).

καὶ εσονται εἰς εὐδοκιαν τα λογια του στοματοσ μου  
και ἡ μελετη τησ καρδιασ μου ενωπιον σου δια παντοσ.

**M.T** יהו לרצח אמר־פי והגין לבן לפני  
**Tg.** יהונ לרעוא מימרי פומי וגנו'

Here  $\lambda$  = *utterance*. The parallelism shows that  $\lambda$ . = the actual utterance as distinguished from the inward thought.

Ps. civ (cv), 19.

μέχρι του ελθειν τον λογον αυτου,  
το λογιον κυριου επιρωσεν αυτον.

M.T.

**עד-עת בא-דברו אמרת יהוה צרפתהו**

Tg.

**עד עידן דאתא פתגמיה מימרא דיהוה سنין יתיה**

An account of Joseph in Egypt. The reference of these lines is to Joseph's divinely inspired interpretation of Pharaoh's servants' dreams, Gen. xli, 13.

‘Der Göttliche Ausspruch, die Traumdeutung, liess Joseph als echtes Metall erscheinen, als Besitzer des von Jahwe dem Samen Abrahams mitgegebenen Wortes.’ (Duhm., *ad loc.*)

Ps. cvi (cvii), 11.

ὅτι παρεπικραναν τα λογια του θεου,  
και την βουλην του ύψιστου παρωξυναν.

M.T.

כִּי־הָמְרוֹ אָמְרֵי־אֱלֹהִים  
וְעַצְתָּ עַל־יְהוָה נָצֹן :

Tg.

אֲרוֹם סְרִיבוּ עַל מִימְרִיה דָּלָה  
וּמֶלֶכת עַילְאָה רְחִיקָו :

Cf. Ps. xviii (xix), 14 above. The antithesis is the same. Here *τα λογια σου του θεου* practically = the commandments of God and *την βουλην* his purpose. Kittel translates 'Geboten . . . Rat'.

Ps. cxviii (cxix), 11.

εν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου εκρύψα τα λογια σου,  
όπωσ αν μη ἀμαρτώ σοι.

M.T.

כָּלְבִּי צְפָנְתִּי אָמְרָתָךְ

Tg.

בְּלִיבִי אֲשֶׁשֶׁת מִירְמָךְ

Here the meaning is clearly God's commands.

Ib. 25.

ζησομαι κατα το λογιον σου

M.T.

חִיְיָ כְּדָבְרָךְ

[ζησομαι] ζησον με ART.

Tg.

אָסִי יְתִי כְּדָבְרָךְ

[το λογιον ✕ A<sup>a</sup>?R] τον λογον A\*T.

The word = the promises of Jehovah (Kittel, *ad loc.*). It is doubtful whether *το λογιον* here is true text of LXX. Rahlfs follows the readings of AT : *ζησον με κατα τον λογον σου*.

Ib. 38.

στησον τω δουλω σου το λογιον σου,  
εισ τον φοβον σου.

M.T.

הַקְמָה לְעַבְדָּךְ אָמְרָתָךְ אֲשֶׁר לִידְאָתָךְ :

Tg.

אֲקִים לְעַבְדָּךְ מִירְמָךְ דִּי לְדַחְלָתָךְ :

'v. 38, bittet um den der Gottesfurcht verheissen Lohn' (Kittel). Hence *το λογ. σου* = 'thy promise'.

Ib. 41.

και ελθοι επ' εμε το ελεοσ σου, Κυριε,  
το σωτηριον σου κατα το λογιον σου.

M.T.

חַשׁוּעַתָךְ כְּאָמְרָתָךְ . . .

Tg.

פּוּרְקָנְךָ הַיְךָ מִירְמָךְ . . .

Here = promise.

Ib. 50.

ότι το λογιον σου εζησεν με.

M.T.

כִּי אָמְרָתָךְ חִיתָנוּ :

Tg.

אֲרוֹם מִירְמָךְ קִיְמָת יְתִי

"Sein Trost ist Jahwes Verheissung 49 f." Kittel.

Hence = promise.

Ps. cxviii (cxix), 58.

*ελεησον με κατα το λογιον σου*

M.T.

חנוי אמרתך

Tg.

חוס עלי היך מימרך

= Promise.

Ib. 65.

*χρηστοτητα εποιησας μετα του δουλου σου,  
Κυριε κατα το λογιον σου. τον λογον Χ<sup>ε</sup>.<sup>α</sup>Τ.*

M.T.

דברך . . .

Tg.

היך דבריך . . .

In any case = promise. Here Rahlfs reads *κατα τον λογον σου*.

Ib. 67.

. . . το λογιον σου εφυλαξα.

M.T.

: אמרתך שמרתך . . .

Tg.

: מימרך נטרית . . .

= Command.

Ib. 76.

*γενηθητω δη το ελεοσ σου τον παρακαλεσαι με  
κατα το λογιον σου τω δουλω σου.*

M.T.

: אמרתך לעבדך :

Tg.

: היך מימרך לעבדך :

"Wie du deinem Knecht verheissen." Kittel.

= Promise.

Ib. 82.

*εξελιπον οι οφθαλμοι μου εισ το λογιον σου*

M.T.

כלו עיני לאמרתך

Tg.

ספו עיני למימרך

= Promise.

Ib. 103.

*ώσ γλυκεα τω λαρυγγι μου τα λογια σου.*

M.T.

מה-גמלציו להכי אמרתך

Tg.

מה חלץ למוריצי מימרך

The context certainly suggests that the meaning here is ' commands '.

Ib. 107.

*Κυριε, ζησον με κατα το λογιον σου.*

M.T.

יהוה חני דברך

Tg.

יהוה אסי יתי היך דבריך

Promise ?

Rahlfs reads *κατα τον λογον σου*.

Ps. cxviii (cxix), 116.

αντιλαβου κατα το λογιον σου, και ζησομαι,  
και μη καταισχυνησ με απο τησ προσδοκιασ μου.

M.T. סמכי אמרתך ואחיה ואל-תבשוי משברי :

Tg. סמוּך יתִ בְּמִירָךְ וְאַחֵי . . .

Promise.

Ib. 123. οἱ οφθαλμοὶ μου εξελιπον εἰσ τὸ σωτηρίον σου  
καὶ εἰσ τὸ λογιον τῆσ δικαιοσύνησ σου.

M.T. עיני כלו לישועתך ולאמרתך צדך :

Tg. עיני סברו לפורקן ולמיימר צדך :

"deiner gerechten Verheissung." Kittel.

Promise.

Ib. 124. ποιησον μετα του δουλου σου κατα το λογιον σου  
λογιον] ελεοσ <sup>κε.א</sup>RT.

M.T.

חייבך

Tg.

היך חסך

Rahlfs reads ελεοס.

Ib. 133. τα διαβηματα μου κατευθυνον κατα το λογιον σου,  
και μη κατακυριευσατω μου πασα ανομια.

M.T. פעמי הכן באמרתך

Tg. אסתורי אתקין במימרכך

The context shows that God's commands are meant.

Ib. 140. πεπυρωμενον το λογιον σου σφοδρα

M.T. צרופה אמרתך מאד

Tg. סיניא מימרכך לחדא

= Commandment, as appears from the context.

Ib. 148. προεφθασαν οἱ οφθαλμοὶ μου προσ ορθρουν,  
του μελετᾳν τα λογια σου.

M.T. קדמו עיני אשםרות לשיז באמרתך :

Tg. אקדידמו עיני מטרתך ורמש למלא במיירך :

Commandments.

Ib. 149. τησ φωνησ μου ακουσον, Κυριε, κατα το λογιον σου.  
λογιον] ελεοσ <sup>κΑΡΤ</sup>.

M.T.

חייבך

Tg.

היך חסך

Rahlfs reads ελεοס.

Ps. cxviii (cxix), 158.

ειδον ασυνθετουντας και εξετηκομην,  
ότι τα λογια σου ουκ εφυλαξαντο.

## **Commands.**

*Ib. 162.* αγαλλιασομαι εγω επι τα λογια σου,  
ώστε δε εύρισκων σκυλα πολλα.

**M.T.**      **שֶׁ אָנוּ כְּלֵי עַל אִמְרָתָךְ כְּמוֹצָא שְׁלֵל רַב :**  
**Tg.**      **חֲדֵי אָנוּ עַל מִימְרָד . . .**

**Commands, as appears from the context.**

Ib. 169. κατὰ τὸ λογιον σου συνετίσον με.

Ib. 170. κατὰ τὸ λογιον σου ρυσαι με.

**Ib.** 172. φθεγξαίτο ἡ γλωσσα μου το λογιον σου,  
ὅτι πασαι αἱ εντολαι σου δικαιοσυνη εστιν.

**M.T.** תעתן לשוני אמרתך כי כל-מצותיך צדק :  
**Tg.** מימרך

## Commands.

Ps. cxxxvii (cxxxviii), 2 A'E'

# כִּי הַגְּדָלָה עַל־כָּל־שָׁמֶן אָמַר תְּחִזֵּק

ο' ὅτι εμεγαλνασ επι παν το ονομα το ἄγιον σου  
σ' εμεγαλνασ γαρ ὑπερ παντα τα ονοματα σου την ρησιν σου.  
α' ε' το λογιον σου.

**Tg.** ארום אסג'יטה על כל שטך מימרי תושבחתך

Commentators read **עַל־כָל שֶׁמֶךְ** and regard as a gloss.

On LXX text of this vs. see Hedley in *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, xxvi, p. 72. Rahlfs, following Grabe, adopts  $\lambda\omega\gamma\iota\omega$  in his text (conj. emend.) against the  $\alpha\gamma\iota\omega$  of the MSS.

Ps. cxlvii. 4 (5).

ὅ αποστελλων το λογιον αυτου τῇ γῇ,  
ἔωσ ταχουσ δραμειται ὁ λογοσ αυτου.

M.T.

השלח אמרתו ארץ עד-מהריה ירוץ דברו

Tg.

דמשדר מיריה לארעא . . .

Command.

WISDOM, xvi. 11.

εισ γαρ ὑπομνησιν των λογιων σου ενεκεντριζοντο,  
και οξεωσ διεσωζοντο. Syriac مُلْمِسْ

Siegfried trans. Denn zur Einprägung deiner Gebote wurden sie gestochen usw. Kautzsch, *Apok. u. Pseud.* i, 502.

ECCLUS. xxxvi. 19 (16).

πλησον Σιων αρεταλογιασ σου,  
και απο τησ δοξησ σου τον λαον σου.  
αρεταλογιασ] αραι (αρε ΚΑ) τα λογια Βְּנֵי אָהָרֶן id.

λαον] ναον is the true reading with Heb. and Syr.

Syr. (Lagarde, p. 37, line 2).

מַלְכָּן צִוְּעָן מִסְמָרָן . . . מַלְכָּן צִוְּעָן מִסְמָרָן .

Heb.

מלא צין את הודך ומכבודך את היכלך

See Hart, *ad loc.*

ISAIAH, v. 24.

ον γαρ ἡθελησαν τον νομον Κυριου σαβαωθ,  
αλλα το λογιον του ἄγιον Ισραηλ παρωξυναν.

M.T.

כימאסו את תורה יהוה צבאות

ואת אמרת קדוש-ישראל נאצו :

Tg.

אֲרֵי קָדוֹם בָּאוֹרִיתָא דִּיהוָה צְבָאוֹת

וַיְתִּמְרֵר קָדוֹשָׁא דִּישָׂרָאֵל רְחוּקָו :

*το λογιον* in synonymous parallelism with *τον νομον*. For the force of תורה, cf. Skinner on Is. i. 10 : religious direction, prophetic teaching. *το λογιον* = the command of God.

Ib. xxviii. 13.

και εσται αυτοισ το λογιον Κυριου θλιψισ επι θλιψοιν κτλ.

M.T.

וְהִיא לָהֶם דָּבָר יְהוָה

צָו לְצֹו וּנְ

Tg.

וזן יהיו כט פורענותהון על דעברו על פיתגמא דיהוה על דאיתפקדו  
למעבד אורייא ומא דאיתפקדו לא צביאו למעבד בגין יתמסרון  
לעממייא דלא ידעוו אורייא וו'

Here *το λογιον Κύ* serves to introduce the following oracle.

ISAIAH xxx. 11.

και αφελετε αφ' ἡμων το λογιον του Ισραηλ.

M.T.

השיבו מפניו את-קדוש ישראל

Inner Greek corruption : *ΤΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ*  
*ΤΟΝΑΓΙΟΝ.*

Tg.

ארחיקו מן קדמאנא יה מימר קדישא דישראל

Pesh.

מִלְחָמָה מִן חַבְּרָא ; אַמְתָּה אֶל-

σ' παυσατε εκ προσωπου ἡμων τον ἄγιον του Ισραηλ.

Tg. appears to combine the readings of LXX and M.T. = *το λογιον*,  
*קדישא* = *τον ἄγιον*. But this may be deceptive and perhaps Tg. may be regarded as paraphrase = mention of the Holy One of Israel. In that case Tg. would appear to give the sense of the protest in M.T. = say no more about the Holy One of Israel !

Ib. xxx. 27.

Ιδον το ονομα κυριου ερχεται δια χρονου, καιομενος θυμοος.  
μετα δοξησ το λογιον των χειλεων αυτου, το λογιον οργησ πληρεσ,  
και η οργη του θυμου ώσ πυρ εδεται.

M.T.

הנה שם-יהוה בא ממרחך  
בער אפו וככבר משאה  
שפטין מלאו זעם  
ולשונו כאש אכלת :

Pesh.

מִלְחָמָה מִן חַבְּרָא ; אַמְתָּה אֶל-  
מִלְחָמָה מִן חַבְּרָא ; אַמְתָּה אֶל-  
מִלְחָמָה מִן חַבְּרָא ; אַמְתָּה אֶל-  
מִלְחָמָה מִן חַבְּרָא ; אַמְתָּה אֶל-

*το λογιον* 1° corresponds to *משאה* ; but the LXX is corrupt at this point.

Ib. xxxii. 9 A'.

נשים שאנוות קמנה שמענה קולי  
בנות בטחות האונה אמרתי :

σ' λογουσ μου. α' λογιον μου. σ' τασ ρήσεισ μου.  
θ' τα ρηματα μου.

Introducing a prophetic oracle.

JEREMIAH viii, 9 A'.

הנה בדבר־יהוה מאסו

ο' ὅτι τὸν λόγον Κυρίου απεδοκύμασαν  
 σ' τὸν γαρ λόγον  
 α' ιδού το λογιον—not really α'.

See Lütkemann and Rahlfs, *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens*, Heft 6, pp. 240 ff.

A' übersetzt nach festes Praxis אָמַר oder אָמַר durch λόγος und das längere hebräische Wort אִמְרָה durch das längere griechische λόγιον, dagegen דבר durch ρῆμα. (Lütkemann-Rahlfs, *op. cit.*, p. 240).

*Summary.*

(a) λογιον or λογια used of direct oracular communications of God to man or of prophetic oracles : Nu. 24<sup>4,16</sup>; Ps. 104 (105)<sup>19</sup>; Isa. 28<sup>13</sup>, 32<sup>9α</sup>; Jer. 8<sup>9α</sup> wrongly ascribed.

(b) λογιον or λογια = divine commands : Dt. 33<sup>9</sup>; Ps. 106 (107)<sup>11</sup>, 118 (119)<sup>11</sup>, 67, 103, 133, 140, 148, 158, 162, 172, 147<sup>4(5)</sup>; Isa. 5<sup>24</sup>.

(c) = divine promises : Ps. 11 (12)<sup>6</sup>, 17 (18)<sup>30</sup>, 118 (119)<sup>[25]</sup>, 38, 41, 50, 58, [65], 76, 82, [107?], 116, 123, 169, 170; Wisd. 16<sup>11</sup>. Square brackets indicate that the LXX reading is uncertain.

(d) = human utterance (in worship) : Ps. 18 (19)<sup>14</sup>.

Text corrupt : Ps. 118 (119)<sup>124, 149</sup>; 137 (138) 2<sup>α/ε'</sup>; Eccl. 39, 19 (16); Isa. 30<sup>11, 27</sup>.

*Conclusion.*—In no case is it possible to get away from the idea of utterance. With a single exception—Ps. 18 (19), 14, where the meaning is human speech in worship as distinguished from meditation in the heart—all the cases considered, where the text is reliable, clearly indicate that it is God's utterance that is meant either directly to a prophet (once a patriarch) or through such a medium to his people in commands and promises. That these utterances of Jehovah may be written down is not disputed but it is nothing to do with the case. What is meant by the word is not Scripture but some things which are contained, along with other things in Scripture, the things namely, that God has said for the guidance or encouragement of Israel.

## 2. ΛΟΓΙΑ in N.T.

Ac. vii. 38.

οὗτος εστιν ὁ γενομένος εν τῇ εκκλησίᾳ εν τῇ ερημῷ . . .  
 . . . ὃς εδεξάτο λογια ζωντα δουναι ἡμιν . . .

Subject of εδεξατο is Moses.

d. qui accipit eloquia uiuentium dare nobis.

Iren. iv. 15, 1 (26, 1) : accepit praecepta dei uiui dare nobis.

Pesh.

Vulg. qui accepit uerba uitae dare nobis.

[Date of Iren. Lat. iii or iv A.D., probably the former. Harnack, *A.C.L. Chron.*, II, 320.]

Donovan, p. 13 : 'In this passage λογια ζωντα is manifestly used to signify the revelation made directly to Moses. It is here, as elsewhere, equivalently "the Inspired Word", and inferentially the Scripture, in which that revelation is recorded.'

The first sentence of this is quite correct. Thus far and no farther D. is entitled to take us. When he goes on to make it equivalently this and inferentially that, he is no longer telling us what the phrase means in its context, but what he would like it to mean for the purposes of his argument. It is worth noticing that the author of the Latin version of Irenaeus (? 3rd cent. A.D.) was apparently still unaware of the 'equivalent' and 'inferential' meanings of λογια ζωντα in this passage ; and contented himself with the rendering *praecepta*, in support of which he could have quoted—on my reckoning—thirteen passages from the LXX.

Ro. iii. 2. WH.

πρωτον μεν [γαρ] ὅτι επιστευθησαν τα λογια του θεου.

πρωτον] πρωτοι Orig. Eus. μεν (om. γαρ) BD\*G al ΛΣ(vg)Ε(boh) Chr. Orig.  $\frac{1}{2}$  al :

μεν γαρ ΙΑΩΣ (hl.) : γαρ (*sine μεν*) Orig.  $\frac{1}{2}$  Eus.

Moffatt : 'the Scriptures of God'.

Lietzmann (*HBNT*. (1910), *ad loc.*) : 'Dass mit λόγια "die Verheissungen" (96) gemeint sind, lehrt das folgende'.

Jülicher (*SNT*<sup>3</sup>) : 'Gottes Offenbarungs-Worte'. In the exposition further defined thus : ' . . . Gott ihnen seine Offenbarungen (das A.T.) anvertraut hat. P mag besonders an. die Verheissungen gedacht haben ; deutlich hat er solche Beschränkung aber nicht vollzogen.'

Pesh.

Vulg. eloquia Dei.

Lipsius (Holtzmann's Hand-Commentar (1891), *ad loc.*) : Vorerst dass sie mit den Verheissungssprüchen Gottes betraut worden sind.

For discussion of this passage see the text of the lecture.

HEB. v. 12.

και γαρ οφειλοντεσ ειναι διδασκαλοι δια τον χρονον, παλιν χρειαν εχετε του διδασκειν ύμασ τινα τα στοιχεια τησ αρχησ των λογιων του θεου, και γεγονατε χρειαν εχοντεσ γαλακτοσ, ου στερεασ τροφησ.

Windisch (*HBNT*, (1913), *ad loc.*) : *τα λογια του θεου . . .* sind die Worte Gottes, die den Inhalt der zusammenhängenden israelitisch-christlichen Offenbarungsgeschichte und Offenbarungsverkündigung ausmachen.

Hollmann (*SNT*<sup>3</sup>, *ad loc.*) : Sie haben immer noch mit den Anfangsgründen der von Gott in Christus gesprochenen Worte (1, 2 : 2, 3, ; 6, 1) zu tun, während sie Lehrer sein und Andere unterrichten müssten. Welche Aufangsgründe der Verfasser meint, sagt 6, 1 f.

Moffatt (*ICC*, *ad loc.*) : 'the rudimentary principles of the divine revelation'.

Donovan (p. 13), winding up a detailed discussion as to the meaning of this passage, says : 'The conclusion as to the meaning of *λόγια* is obvious'—so obvious that he does not say what it is, but continues : 'At any rate, it remains indisputably true that in these two instances of the use of *λόγια* occurring in the Pauline Epistles, the word appears as synonymous either with *Revelation* or *Holy Writ*'. That it is synonymous with *Revelation* we need not trouble to deny. The question is whether the terms *Revelation* and *Holy Writ* are so readily interchangeable as D. seems to think. Taking this passage on its merits and in its context it is clear enough that *τα στοιχεια τησ αρχησ των λογιων του θεου* means much the same thing as *τον τησ αρχησ του χριστου λογον*. And Hollmann is no doubt right in bringing i. 1 f. and ii. 3 into account. God, who in former times had given *λογια* to the Prophets and through them to Israel, has in these times given them in his son. The new *λογια* are the demands and promises of God revealed in Christ. The elementary portions of these *λογια* are further specified in vi. 1 f. : repentance, faith, baptisms, laying on of hands, resurrection and, judgement. But the writer contends that there is more in the *λογια* than that : in other words, there is a deeper meaning in the revelation that God has given in Christ. He is certainly not talking here about O.T. and/or N.T. but about the significance of Christ considered as an oracle of God, newer and better than the oracles given to the prophets and, like the old oracles, requiring understanding.

#### I PET. iv. 11.

ει τιος λαλει, ώστε λογια θεου·

ει τιος διακονει, ώστε εξ ισχυος ήστε χορηγει ὁ θεος.

Bigg, *ICC* : 'λογια means Scripture', ' " as Scripture speaks ", with sincerity and gravity'.

Windisch, *HBNT* : 'wenn einer redet (betrachte er seine Worte) als Worte Gottes'. 'Herausgehoben werden die Lehrer und die Diener der Gemeinde; beiden Gruppen wird gesagt (nicht dass sie ihre gottgegebenen Fähigkeiten auch gebrauchen sondern), dass sie die Kraft, die sie haben und verwenden, als gottgegeben anerkennen, damit in allen Regungen der Gemeinde die All-wirksamkeit Gottes zum Bewusstsein komme'<sup>212</sup>.

Gunkel, *SNT* : 'Redet Jemand, so rede er als ein Sprecher Gottes'.

'Wer eine Gabe des Redens hat, soll sich nicht eitel selbst zur Schau stellen und nichts Eigenes einmischen wollen, sondern bedenken, dass er Gottes Sprecher, Herold ist, dass es "Gottes Sprüche", d.h. seine Orakel, seine Offenbarungen sind, die er verkündet.'

Either interpretation—Windisch's or Gunkel's—is preferable to Donovan's—and Bigg's—that 'the Church speaker is bidden to mould his discourse on the divine model ; his speech is to be as the *Inspired Word*, the Oracular Word of God' (p. 13). D. says that it is not necessary to answer the question whether it is the Old revelation or the New that is referred to here. This is a pity, for it would certainly have been useful to preachers to know whether they should mould their discourses after the style of O.T. or N.T. As it seems to me, the real force of the injunction is excellently brought out in Dean Selwyn's new commentary on I Peter : 'the speaker in the congregation should reckon himself to be charged not with his own opinions but the utterances of God'.

### Conclusion.

In every one of the four N.T. instances a better and more natural sense is obtained by sticking to the original sense of *λογία* as found in LXX. When 'Scripture' or some equivocal term like 'Revelation' is substituted the passages do not become clearer but rather more obscure. In every case D.'s argument fails to convince.

### 3. ΛΟΓΙΑ in the Apostolic Fathers.

I Clem. xiii. 4 ; cit. of Is. lxvi. 2.

Clem. επι τινα επιβλεψω, αλλ' η επι τον πρανν και ἡσυχιον  
και τρεμοντα μου τα λογια.

LXX B. πρανν] ταπεινον | μου τα λογια] τουσ λογουσ μου.

M.T. אל-זה אבית אל-ענין וכחה-רוחה וחרד על-דברי

Orig. Hex. עני o' τον ταπεινον a' πρανν σ' πτωχον θ' συντετριμμενον.

Skinner, Camb. Bib. : 'The "word" of the Lord is that spoken by the prophets, and the "trembling" of these devout hearers expresses their scrupulous anxiety to conform with its requirements.'

Duhm., ad loc. : 'die . . . um das Gesetz eifrig bemühte Gemeinde des Zionstempels'.

Marti., ad loc. : 'heilige Ehrfurcht vor meinem Gesetze haben und ihm gehorsam sind'.

Two points are clear. (1) *τα λογια* is Clem.'s equivalent for *τουσ λογουσ* of LXX. (2) *τουσ λογουσ* of LXX = the commandments of God. That Clem. also takes *τα λογια* in the same sense is strongly suggested by the immediately following words (xiv. 1) : 'Therefore it is right and holy, my brethren, for us to obey God rather than to follow those who in pride and unruliness are the instigators of an abominable jealousy' (Lake's trans.).

Further, it should be noted that the immediately preceding xii. 2 is filled with ethical precepts of Jesus, sayings which illustrate exactly what we should naturally take *τα λογια* to mean.

There is no support in this passage for any interpretation that would make *τα λογια* the equivalent of 'Holy Writ'.

The Latin version of Clem. (ed. Morin: *Anecd. Maredsol*, Vol. II) has  
Super quem respiciam nisi super humilem et mansuetum et trementem uerba  
mea:

I. CLEM. xix. 1.

*τούσ τε καταδεξαμένουσ τα λογιά αυτού (God) εν φόβῳ καὶ αληθείᾳ.*

Lake. 'who received his oracles in fear and truth'.

Lftt. 'that received his oracles in fear and truth'.

O.L. qui percepunt eloquia eius cum timore et ueritate.

Syr. *لِمَنْ يَرَى مُحَمَّدًا، مُحَمَّدًا يَرَى*

Donovan. who received God's *Oracular Word* in fear and in truth.

D. 16f.

'This passage must be taken as affording an instance where *λογιά* primarily refers to Revelation yet with implied connotation of Holy Writ. . . . In this, as in the other passages, the allusion is to Revelation collectively, and not to any individual component parts or excerpts, much less to sources.'

On this it is sufficient to remark that D. achieves his desired result by first of all paraphrasing the text instead of translating it, and then interpreting his paraphrase in the sense which favours the thesis which he is defending. I am content to accept the rendering given by the ancient versions and by Lightfoot and Lake—as also Harnack 'seine Aussprüche'—and to understand the oracles of God to mean what they mean in LXX: the commands and promises of God, with special reference to the former. This fits in well with the whole course of the argument of the epistle in the preceding chapters with its praise of the humble submissiveness of the Old Testament worthies before God.

I. CLEM. liii. 1.

*επισταθε γαρ καὶ καλως επισταθε τασ ἱερασ γραφασ, αγαπητοι και ευκεκιφατε εισ τα λογια του θεου.*

O.L. (ed. Morin).

Scitis enim et bene didicistis sanctas scripturas, dilectissimi et introiuistis in eloquia Dei.

introiuistis] scripsi, non sine scrupulo. Codex perperam: "intonuistis".

Syr.

*لِمَنْ يَرَى مُحَمَّدًا، مُحَمَّدًا يَرَى*  
*لِمَنْ يَعْلَمُ مُحَمَّدًا، مُحَمَّدًا يَعْلَمُ*  
*.يَأَدَّى!*

Lftt.

For ye know, and know well, the sacred scriptures, dearly beloved, and ye have searched into the oracles of God.

Lake.

For you have understanding, you have a good understanding of the sacred Scriptures, beloved, and you have studied the oracles of God.

Donovan, rightly I think, holds (p. 18) that Clement in this passage 'must have had the Old Testament in mind'. That by *τασ ιερασ γραφασ* he means the O.T. may be freely admitted. Whether, as D. maintains, '*τα λογια του θεου* becomes for practical purposes synonymous with *γραφη*' is quite another question. Here again it may fairly be claimed that what is meant by *τα λογια του θεου* is something which diligent students of the O.T. will find therein. Clement is not saying, 'you know and know well the sacred scriptures and you have searched into the Bible'; but rather, 'you know your Bible well, and in it you have studied closely those utterances of God which are the direct revelation of his will and purpose.'

### I. CLEM. ixii. 3.

*σαφωσ ηδειμεν γραφειν ἡμασ ανδρασιν πιστοισ και ελλογιμωτατοισ και εγκεκυφοιν εισ τα λογια τησ παιδειασ του θεου.*

### O.L.

pro certo sciebamus scribere uobis uiris fidelibus et probatis et oboedientibus eloquuis doctrinae Dei.

### Syr.

جَعْلَةً مِنْ كُلِّ الْمَوْعِدِ  
مَوْعِدًا مِنْ كُلِّ الْمَوْعِدِ حَقَّهُ  
حَقَّهُ مِنْ كُلِّ الْمَوْعِدِ

### Lftt.

we knew well that we were writing to men who are faithful and highly accounted and have diligently searched into the oracles of the teaching of God. Lake.

we knew quite well that we were writing to men who were faithful and distinguished and had studied the oracles of the teaching of God.

### D. p. 18.

... 'persons also, who have been students of God's instructive Oracles'. It is here *Revelation*, viewed in *its moral and educational effects* (*ib.*).

On this passage it is to be remarked that where Clement elsewhere uses *παιδεια* it has quite definitely the sense of discipline—moral training by precept, example, or chastisement. It is therefore natural to take *τα λογια τησ παιδειασ του θεου* here as having the same shade of meaning. The oracles in question are God's disciplinary oracles, i.e. his commandments. The O.L. translator seems to have felt this when he rendered *εγκεκυφοιν* by *oboedientibus*. That being so we ought not to regard the phrase as meaning 'Revelation viewed in its moral and educational effects' but rather as meaning 'such divine oracles as bear directly on the moral training of God's people'.

### II. CLEM. xiii. 3.

*τα εβηη γαρ, ακουοντα εκ του στοματοσ ἡμων τα λογια του θεου, ώστε καλα και μεγαλα θαυμαζει· επειτα, καταμαθοντα τα εργα ἡμων διτι ουκ εστιν αξια των ρηματων ὧν λεγομεν, ενθεν εισ βλασφημιαν τρεπονται, λεγοντεσ εναι μυθον τινα και πλανην.*

جَدِيدٌ يَوْمَ مِنْ عَصَمِي مِنْ فَوْقَنِ مَلَلِ  
أَكَلَ أَسْرَرْ قَلْبَهُ لَمَّا مَلَأَهُ مَذْكُورُ  
كَوْنَهُ كَلْمَةٌ يَوْمَ مِنْ سَلَعَهُ حَتَّىٰ بِمَلَلِ  
أَكَلَ أَسْرَرْ لَقْلَسَهُ مَذْكُورُهُ مَذْكُورُ  
كَلْمَةٌ لَفَوْقَهُ مَذْكُورُهُ مَذْكُورُهُ  
مَذْكُورُهُ بِحَمْدِهِ مَذْكُورُهُ مَذْكُورُهُ.

Lftt.

'For the Gentiles, when they hear from our mouth the oracles of God, marvel at them for their beauty and greatness ; then, when they discover that our works are not worthy of the words which we speak, forthwith they betake themselves to blasphemy, saying that it is an idle story and a delusion.'

Lftt. takes *τα λ. τ. θεου* here to be 'a synonyme for the Scriptures'. D. says (p. 27), 'The writer is a Christian teacher addressing a Christian community. Christian practice must be in keeping, he insinuates, with Christian teaching. This Christian teaching pagans learn indirectly from the *λογια του θεου*—i.e. the Scriptures, including the Gospel.'

The context does not support either Lftt. or D. The writer is dealing with the text, Is. lii. 5, διὰ παντοσ το ονόμα μον βλασφημεῖται εν πασιν τοισ εθνεσιν. He asks How ? and the answer of God is εν τῷ μη ποιειν ὑμασ ἀ βουλομαι. Then in further explanation of this follows our passage. The Gentiles hear the *λογια* and see how splendid they are. Then they observe that Christians do not themselves obey these excellent *λογια*, and blaspheme. The phenomenon is as well known in our own day as in the day of II Clem. And the sense in which *λογια* is meant here is crystal clear. It is the oracles as revealing God's will concerning man's behaviour. And this is shown still more clearly by the example given immediately afterwards. The oracle concerning love to enemies becomes an occasion of blasphemy among the Gentiles because Christians not only do not obey it but also add to their disobedience failure to love even their friends.

EP. POLYCARPI. vii. 1.

καὶ ὅσ αν μεθοδευη τα λογια του Κυριου προσ τασ ιδιασ επιθυμιασ, και λεγει μητε αναστασιν μητε κρισιν, ούτος πρωτοτοκοσ εστι του Σατана.

Lftt.

And whosoever shall pervert the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts and say that there is neither resurrection nor judgement, that man is the first-born of Satan.

According to D. (p. 20) 'το μεθοδευειν τα λογια του κυριου . . . is obviously "distortion of Holy Writ ". This ' could signify either distortion of meaning, or mutilation and interpolation of the sacred books received by the Church ' (p. 21). 'As he uses *τα λογια του κυριου* rather than the more generic *τα λογια του θεου*, he very probably has in mind the evangelical Scriptures ' (p. 20).

But here again we have to take account of the phrase *προσ τασ ιδιασ επιθυμιασ*. This indicates clearly enough what is meant by the *λογια*. Also the accompanying denial of the resurrection and judgement points in the same direction. The

writer has in mind two directions in which religious perversity can manifest itself. The first is false doctrine about Christ. This is dealt with in the opening clauses of the section. From that he passes to what so often accompanied false doctrine—moral laxity. Twisting the Lord's oracles to their own lusts and denying the one thing which at that time was the supreme sanction of morality; the belief that all must appear before the judgement seat of Christ to give account of the deeds done in the flesh. *λογια* bears the same meaning that we have found elsewhere. It may well be that *του κυριου* means that it is the oracles of Christ that are thought of; and the oracles, in that case, will be such things as are found in what is called his ethical teaching.

#### 4. ΛΟΓΙΑ in the *Apologists*.

*Justin Martyr.*

**APOL. I. 32 (end).**

*και Ιεσσαι προπατωρ μεν κατα το λογιον γεγενηται, κτε.*

The *λογιον* here referred to is the prophetic oracle cited just before *και Ησαιας . . . ούτως ειπεν· Ανατελει αστρον εξ Ιακωβ, και ανθος αναβησεται απο της ριζης Ιεσσαι· και επι τον βραχιονα αυτου εθνη ελπιουσιν.* This *λογιον* Justin declares has been fulfilled in Christ. There is no doubt what the word means here. It is the promise of God.

**DIAL. xviii. 1 (Otto I. ii. 64).**

*επειδη γαρ ανεγνωσ, ω Τρυφων, ώσ αυτος όμολογησας εφησ, τα ն՛ էկεινու του σωτηροս նման διδαχθεντα, ουκ αποπο νομιζω πεποιηκεναι και βραχεα των εκεινου λογια προσ τοισ προφητικοισ επιμνησθεισ.*

D. (pp. 29 f.) : 'there emerges a fully literal yet correct translation, " Brief oracles from among His Oracles ". In modern speech one would rightly render : " brief extracts from the *Dominical Oracles* ". ' Later he says (p. 30), ' To allege that this Christian philosopher is here referring to some unknown *collection* of Christ's sayings, or to an imaginary *manual* of messianic prophecy, or to *Testimonia*, is to ignore the normal value of this formula and to shut one's eyes to the context '. To this it is sufficient to reply that it is not necessary to make any of these allegations. It is only necessary to claim, what D. himself admits, that Justin is referring to the 'Dominical Oracles'. This phrase, in its plain and natural meaning, supplied by Justin in this very sentence—*τα ն՛ էկεινοւ του σωτηροս նման διδαχθεντα*—is amply sufficient for the purposes of those who think that the document referred to by Papias or his informant is the Synoptic document Q.

But this is not sufficient for D. For him *τα λογια του κυριου* must be made to mean (p. 30) "Oracles concerning the Lord"—that is, God's Word or Revelation as couched in New Testament Scripture'. The subjective genitive—the natural and obvious construction—is quietly turned into an objective genitive. On what grounds? That among the *sayings* of Jesus, which have just been quoted by Justin, there 'occurs one very precious item—a little portion of Gospel *narrative*'. Apparently D. would maintain that there are four Dominical Oracles in the passage :

- Oracle 1. ὁ οἰκος μου οἰκος προσευχῆσ κτέ.  
 Oracle 2. καὶ τασ τραπέζασ κτέ.  
 Oracle 3. οναι ὑμιν, γραμματεισ καὶ φαρισαιοι κτέ.  
 Oracle 4. οναι ὑμιν, γραμματεισ κτέ.

There is no hint that he regards them otherwise than as separate items. But one has only to glance at the text of Justin to see that No. 2 is not a separate item at all, but a mere scrap of the narrative context of No. 1. No. 1 is an oracle uttered by the Lord *when* he overturned the tables of the money-changers in the Temple. The fact is that there are three oracles quoted by Justin from the Lord's Oracles; and they are genuine oracles. Recognition of this fact saves us from the necessity of supposing that *λογιον* in the singular means one thing for Justin and something different in the plural, or that in talking to Jews he would describe the Gospels as *τα λογια* while in addressing the Roman Senate he would call them *τα απομνημονευματα*.

DIAL. cxxxiii. 5. (Otto I, ii. 474).

Quotation from Is. v. 24.

*Tatian.*

*Orat. ad Graec. xli, 2* (ed. Schwartz, *TU*, IV, i. 42): περι μεν ουν τησ καθ' ἔκαστον <των> λογιων πραγματειασ χρονων τε καὶ αναγραφησ αυτων ὡσ οιμαι σφοδρα \* \* μετα πασησ ὑμιν ακριβειασ ανεγραφαμεν. Here the text is uncertain, the authorities being divided between *λογιων* and *λογον*. It is clear, however, that the passage sheds no light on the problem with which we are concerned.







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